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Arts and Industries in Ireland:

I.

JOHN HENRY FOLEY, R.A.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THE SCULPTOR
OF THE O'CONNELL MONUMENT.

II.

IRISH WOOL AND WOOLLENS:

PASSAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE STAPLE
TRADE.

By S. A.

DUBLIN

M. H. GILL & SON, 50 UPPER SACKVILLE STREET

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PREFACE.

THE following papers, which originally appeared in the *Irish Monthly*, are now reprinted in the hope that they may prove interesting to those who visit Dublin this season for the purpose of seeing the O'Connell Monument and the National Exhibition.

The sketch of John Henry Foley, in its present form, was already in type when the monument was unveiled; hence it contains no description of that magnificent work of art, as it now stands revealed. However, some important additions have been made to the little memoir, and some errors corrected.

Thanks to the energy of the Directors of the National Exhibition, a number of the unclaimed Foley Casts have been obtained. These noble figures occupy a position in the central hall and picture gallery, where they are seen to great advantage, together with the works of other Irishmen distinguished as masters in the sculptor's art.

S. A.

August, 1882.

CONTENTS.

JOHN HENRY FOLEY, R.A.

	PAGE
I. The Artist's bequest to Ireland	I
II. His youth and early studies	6
III. First triumphs	13
IV. Fame assured	21
V. The sculptor in his studio	26
VI. The sculptor in his home	30
VII. Last works and last days	34

IRISH WOOL AND WOOLLENS.

I. The wool question in Irish history	41
II. Ancient mantles. English <i>versus</i> Irish costume	44
III. Foreign trade	53
IV. The wool in danger. Strafford's designs	59
V. Ormonde to the rescue	65
VI. Industry suppressed by Act of Parliament	69
VII. Retribution. Smuggling. Rise of the French Woollen Trade.	81
VIII. Home manufacture. Trade grievances	87
• IX. Free Trade demanded and conceded	95

JOHN HENRY FOLEY, R.A.

I.

IN the latter days of August, 1874, it was sadly whispered abroad that John Henry Foley's career was drawing to a close, and that before many suns had set England would be called on to mourn the departure of a renowned artist of her school, and Ireland suffer the loss of one of her most gifted sons. On the 27th of the same month, long, laudatory, and regretful notices appeared in the London and Dublin journals; they were obituary notices: for the great sculptor was no more.

It was characteristic of Foley—a man modest in manner, personally unambitious, and a lover of quiet places—that he should ask to be laid, by loving hands and few, beneath a grassy sod not far from the spot where he breathed his last. But who can wonder that his expressed desire to rest in a grave at Highgate should be overruled, and that a funeral ceremony better proportioned to his celebrity, and a sepulchre more honourable in the sight of the nation, should mark the esteem in which his virtue was held and the pride which all felt in his renown?

Issuing from the Priory at Hampstead, where the sculptor had for some time resided, the funeral procession wound its way through the thoroughfares of northern London; paused before the studio in Osnaburgh-street, where the busiest years of his laborious life had been spent; and, lengthened there, and again at Burlington House, by the accession of another train of mourners including representatives of the world of literature and art, finally reached St. Paul's Cathedral, in the crypt of which, and in the "artists' corner," his remains were assigned their last abode. Simple, yet impressive, was the closing ceremonial; the troops of friends and the assistant multi-

tude alike felt the significance of the hour; and in the midst of deep silence and flowing tears the "latest lost" was left in the companionship of Wren and Reynolds, Landseer, Turner, Lawrence, and Barry.

Shortly before he expired, Mr. Foley signed his last will and testament. Having provided for his widow and two unmarried sisters, he devised to the trustees of the Artists' Benevolent Fund the property available after the life interests had expired, and made a bequest to Ireland. This bequest, too, was characteristic of the man, for it displayed a princely way of conferring gifts and a faithful love of the land that bore him. Far and wide were scattered his master-works in bronze and marble. There could be no recall of these from the far East, from the halls, the galleries, the public places of the British Isles. But the casts of his noble statues, magnificent groups, and monumental *relievi*, still filled and graced his studio; and these he bequeathed to his birthplace, "in the proud desire," says Mr. Tenniswood, his friend and executor, "of forming a gallery of his productions in his native city, and within the walls of that institution to which he was indebted for his first art-teachings."

So precious a gift as this from the treasury of art was never before offered to Ireland. Nor can we recall any bequest of the kind worthy to be compared with it in magnitude, value, and completeness, except the donation which Thorwaldsen made to the people whose glory it was to honour his genius and name him fellow-countryman. The Danish sculptor's legacy to Copenhagen, and Foley's bequest to Dublin, are parallel cases; but the sequel affords not a parallel, but a contrast.

Some of our readers may remember how contemporary journals described the picturesque incidents attending the return of Thorwaldsen after long years of absence in Rome; the despatch of a war frigate to the Mediterranean to carry home the artist and the casts of his works which he destined for the capital city; the arrival of the vessel, and her escort through the Sound by the Danish and Swedish ships; the mustering of the trades with their banners, and of the enthusiastic multitude on the shore; and all the spontaneous greeting, and all the well-devised pomp, which made the progress of the Sculptor of the North, as was fitly said, like the return of a monarch or a great conqueror after a glorious campaign, "No doubt," observes the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in recalling these

circumstances, "the tradesmen, the sailors, and the townspeople of Copenhagen understood little of the *chefs d'œuvres* of Thorwaldsen; but they knew that he had made the name of Denmark renowned in Europe, and it was for this they received him as a king."

Such distinctions as royalty could bestow were added to the honours of popular acclaim. Thorwaldsen was covered with crosses and decorations; he was made a Counsellor of State, so that he might be received at the king's table without any infringement of courtly etiquette, and a guard of honour was posted at his door. Nothing, in a word, was left undone that could increase the dignity or add to the happiness of the artist's declining years. When death came at last, an august ceremonial accompanied his interment. Through streets strewn in Scandinavian fashion with white sand and juniper leaves, the military lining the route, and the companies of trades standing by with their banners covered with crape, a long procession passed, in which walked the royal princes and the members of the Academy of Fine Arts, the officers of State, the chiefs of the army and navy, and a vast multitude of the citizens. At the door of the cathedral the king, in deep mourning, received the coffin; while all that music and oratory could do to enhance the solemnity of the last rites, was offered as a tribute to the genius of the departed.

For the reception of the treasures brought home by Thorwaldsen—the casts of his works and the objects of art he had collected—a suitable structure was erected; and this, the "Thorwaldsen Museum," now forms one of the most interesting public monuments in Northern Europe.*

Foley's bequest to his native country would seem either to have been bestowed on unappreciative recipients, or to have bewildered by its splendour all who should have claimed its custody. The Royal Dublin Society, far from hastening to obtain possession of the gift, appeared to dread nothing so much as having it forced on their acceptance; they avowed their inability to provide space for the casts. The Corporation of Dublin refused to take charge of any of the models. The governors and guardians

* Munich possesses a treasure of the same kind in the "Schwanthaler Museum," the Bavarian sculptor having bequeathed to the Academy the models of his works, and his studio. The street in which the building stands is called the Schwanthalerstrasse, and the museum is open to the public.

of the National Gallery of Ireland made no effort, that we are aware of, to obtain even for a time the custody of a selection of these statues and groups which would have made a fairer show, and one more truly "national," than they are likely ever to exhibit in their halls. No citizen of wealth and position came forward to inaugurate a scheme and head a subscription for providing at least a weather-tight shelter in which these perishable yet beautiful works might be housed. As for the general public, it is needless to say, they were too inexperienced and uneducated in such matters to understand the disgrace inflicted on the national character by the supineness, in this instance, of public bodies and influential men.

Year after year passed by; no gallery—not even a shed—was erected for the models of the now world-famous works. Foley's gift was fast running the risk of becoming a lapsed legacy; for the bequest was followed by a provision that should the Royal Dublin Society not accept the models, they should be disposed of by gift as the executors might think fit. Regret had already been expressed by a London organ that the capital of England did not possess copies of some at least of Foley's greatest works, such as "Hardinge" and "Outram," "Goldsmith" and "Burke." Undoubtedly, Manchester and Liverpool, as well as London, would have rejoiced if a chance of possessing the Foley collection had been offered to their schools. Humiliating to our own country though the alternative might be, no rational objection could be urged if, Dublin having forfeited her claim, the splendid collection had been bestowed on a more art-loving city to enrich an already founded school, or start into life a new institute of art.

At length one day, about five years after the artist's death, the full-size models of "Hampden" and "Selden" a "Parsee Dignitary," and the "Youth at a Stream;" the group of "Ino and the Infant Bacchus," and its companion, "The Mother;" the ideal figure of "Egeria," and a number of portrait busts—a selection, in fact, of the casts—met the astonished gaze of the library readers who passed through the hall of Leinster House on their way to the reading-rooms. No announcement of the arrival of the works had appeared in the newspapers, and the few who chanced to see them when first erected in the hall were left to conjecture as to how and by whom they had been in the end secured for Ireland. There was reason to be thankful that some were at last obtained and

safely housed, even though they stood in a position where they were all but hidden from the general view, and could be of little use to the art student.

Afterwards it transpired that the Science and Art Department, London, had repaired, packed, and despatched to Dublin this selection of the casts at the cost of a few hundred pounds. Having done so much, the Commissioners offered the Corporation of Dublin any of the remaining statues they might select, on condition that they should pay the cost of packing and removing them. The Corporation met and discussed the subject. They were afraid that if they brought over the statues they would be obliged to house them, and they could not undertake to provide a house; they were unable to make up their mind what to do, and they could not give an immediate answer.*

Since this discussion took place in the City Hall, the Corporation, at least as far as we know, have taken no steps with regard to the Foley casts. The collection sheltered in the halls, ante-rooms, and passages of Leinster House has been increased by the addition of other beautiful works by our sculptor, many, and among them some

* The following report of the proceedings appeared in the *Freeman's Journal*, Sep. 2, 1879:—

"The Town Clerk read a letter from the Science and Art Department, London, stating that they are unable, with the means at their disposal, to repair and send to the Science and Art Museum in Dublin all the casts bequeathed by the late Mr. Foley, R.A., or to provide space for them; that a committee of sculptors has been appointed to make a selection of such as could be put in a state for exhibition for £500, and the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury desire to know if the Corporation of Dublin will have any of the statues on the same terms as they will be offered to schools of art, viz., that they shall defray the cost of packing and removing them.

"Mr. Gray moved—'That the letter be acknowledged, saying that the matter is under consideration; that it be referred to the General Purposes Committee for report, the Law Agent to ascertain if the Corporation can legally spend any money for the proposed purposes, and write to the Science and Art Department to ascertain whether, if the Corporation brought the models over, or any of them, the department would take possession of them.' If would be a very lamentable thing if these models were lost; but if the Corporation were to bring them over they would have to decide where they could put them, and he knew of no place. They would have to get information before they could make up their minds. He thought, under the circumstances, that the Government might have given a larger amount than £500; but it was mentioned in the House by him, and they seemed to think they were doing a very generous thing in giving any money at all.

"Mr. A. O'Neill seconded the resolution.

"The Lord Mayor said that some splendid specimens of Foley's work were now in the Dublin Society's House, and those that the Dublin Society would not take were now offered to the Corporation. The splendid statue of Lord Hardinge, if painted and covered in, would look very well.

"Mr. Gray—And the model of the Gough statue, too, my lord (laughter).

"The resolution was passed."

of the most important of all are, however, still missing; and the only hope that remains of seeing Foley's munificent gift in its entirety enriching the city of his birth and his affections, seems to be founded on the chance that in time to come the Science and Art Department may extend its charity to the casts without exception, and display the whole collection in the contemplated new buildings adjoining Leinster House. "Perhaps," says a thoughtful writer, referring to the sculptor's bequest, "there is not a city in the world so devoid of what may be called filial gifts as Dublin. Strangers can be shown churches built by the people, and cathedrals restored by individuals—fine buildings and fine statues—but there is really but one bequest by a great Irishman to his people." "This," he continues, "has arisen from a variety of causes, and in many cases from the fact that great Irishmen contrive somehow to live in England, and to die there in forgetfulness of their own land. Foley was not one of this kind. He desired to remember the place where his art education was received, and to offer to the youth of to-day incentives to the prosecution of the studies which led him into the foremost ranks of modern sculptors."*

II.

Uneventful in the ordinary sense of the word—that is to say, unmarked by extraordinary vicissitudes or strikingly picturesque incidents—the history of our sculptor abounds nevertheless in noteworthy and interesting points. In the salient features of his character he bore a striking resemblance to the famous masters of his art in the earlier and the later schools, while certain circumstances in his education as an artist, and in his rapid advance to the height of a well-assured fame, mark his career as exceptional. These traits of resemblance, and these points of divergence will be sufficiently apparent in the sketch which we now proceed to give. As no regular biography of the artist has yet been published, although if report spoke truly, a memoir was undertaken some time ago by an old and valued friend well qualified for the task, we

* *Dublin Evening Mail*, Sept. 8, 1879.

shall take the outline of the narrative from such necessarily meagre notices as have from time to time appeared in print; from recollections communicated in conversation by some who knew him in his youth, or enjoyed his intimacy in maturer years; and from copious notes kindly given to us by a member of Mr. Foley's immediate family.

John Henry, son of Jesse and Eliza Foley, was born on the 24th of May, 1818, at 6 Montgomery-street, in the city of Dublin, and was baptised at St. Thomas's parish church on the 7th of June following. His father, a native of Winchester, had settled early in life in Dublin, and married a lady whose maiden name, Byrne (properly O'Byrne) leaves no doubt as to her Milesian descent.* They had a numerous family of children, six of whom were born in the house in Montgomery-street. The neighbourhood was at that time respectable, and of comparatively recent origin, dating from the building of the new Custom House. Edward and John Smith, the sculptors, lived in Montgomery-street; Gandon the architect had resided not far off; and several of the master workmen employed in finishing and decorating the splendid structure on the river side (formally opened in 1791, but not completed in all its beauty until many years later), settled in and around the street just named. These high-class "hands," or their children, still occupied the same quarters when the Foleys formed a part of the population. The tone of the place, at once artistic and industrial, was not without a jovial strain, as the frequenters of the Curlew Tavern and kindred establishments could testify.

Jesse Foley did not himself belong to the class of artist workmen, though he had a taste for designing, and could model vases and such like graceful objects. He was employed in a glass manufactory. Nevertheless, the atmosphere of art which pervaded the Custom House district penetrated into the very homes of the young Foleys, for under the same roof resided their step-grandfather, Benjamin Schrowder, a sculptor by profession.

Schrowder was an original character, a native of Winchester, and descended from the poet Milton on the

* The Byrnes are of the house of Heremon who was son of Milesius and sole king of Ireland. Foley, too, it may be remarked is an Irish name. The Foleys (O'Fodhladhas), were a race of repute in the south of Ireland previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion, and owners of a tract of land in the present county of Waterford, where the name is still of frequent occurrence. See "The Topographical Poems of O'Dubhagain and O'Huidhrin," edited for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, by John O'Donovan, LL.D.

maternal side. Invited to do sculpture work on the new Custom House, he removed to Dublin, with his first wife, Lavinia, and set up house in the quarter occupied by the artists and master-workmen employed on the building. Most of the emblematic river gods designed by Edward Smith were carved by Schrowder. When the work he had been engaged for was completed, he still remained and took orders on his own account. His children died young, and before many years had passed by his wife also died, and was buried in old St. George's churchyard. After some time the artist married Mrs. Foley's mother, Mrs. Byrne, and set up his workshop at 6 Montgomery-street. There the grandfather, with his long silvery locks, and surrounded with his tools, models, and marbles, was a familiar and venerable figure in the eyes of the younger generation of the household, one of whom was destined to occupy a distinguished, and another a pre-eminent, position in the world of art. Whatever his present content might be, the old man did not cease to cherish the tenderest affection for the Lavinia he had lost, and he never would leave Dublin lest he should die at a distance from her grave. Once his friends in Winchelsea sent him word that a sister of his seemed disposed to make her will in his favour, and at the same time they suggested that he should revisit his native place, and show that he was still in the land of the living. The kindly meant hint was, however, not attended to. Even the prospect of inheriting some thousands of pounds was not a sufficient temptation to lure him away from the neighbourhood of old St. George's. Perceiving his indifference, the testator tightened her hand. Still, she bequeathed him a considerable sum of money, and some houses in Winchelsea, in the hope that as it was in that city he had first met his lost wife, he might be induced to return and take up his residence there. But to the very end, Lavinia's last resting-place occupied his thoughts. He modelled a bust of himself, a medallion on a black slab, which he intended should be erected as a mural monument in old St. George's. However, as a large sum was demanded for permission to erect the memorial within the walls of the church, the work did not attain to its destination. Benjamin Schrowder died in 1826, and his memory is simply preserved by the inscribed stone that marks the place of his interment in the churchyard.

Jesse and Eliza Foley's children, boys and girls, were

kept much at home, and tenderly and carefully watched over by their mother. Something occurred which made the father of the family think that strange companions were no advantage to the children, and he one day gave orders that Edward, his eldest son, should be taken from the seminary he attended, and that neither he nor the other children should go to any school. "I can myself," he said, "teach them writing and arithmetic, and I suppose their mother can manage the rest." From that day forth school was kept regularly every day in a room set apart for the purpose. The mother's discipline was strict, her word was law; but the children loved her greatly. As usually happens in a family group, some were quick and diligent, while others were slow and idle. All the teacher's zeal, all the parent's affection, could not coax or goad every member of the little class up to the school-room standard. Neither could any domestic prophet foretell which would be in the end the greater—the youth all sense and industry, or the boy who seemed to have no capacity for anything but play.

Edward, the elder, but not the most illustrious of the sculptor sons, was naturally of a studious disposition. He early discovered a talent for modelling, and under grandfather Schrowder's tuition made satisfactory progress. When about thirteen years of age his aged instructor apprenticed him to John Smith, Master of the Dublin Society's school of sculpture, and son of the more celebrated Edward Smith.* During the first year he was to receive no payment, during the second he should receive

* Edward and John Smith receive an appreciative notice in the new edition of Redgrave's "Dictionary of Artists of the British School." The elder Smith, the writer tells us, "had for some time received a large income, but had saved nothing, and he was glad to accept, with a salary of £100 a year, the office of Master of the Dublin School of Sculpture, which the Dublin Society established in 1806, and to hold the office till his death, when he was succeeded by his son John. He was born, studied, lived only in Ireland, and died there towards the end of 1812. Vigorous, original, and inventive, he was eminently distinguished as an Irish artist, and both father and son were remarkable for their genius and their misfortunes." The same authority names, as works of incontestable merit, Edward Smith's statues of Clemency, Justice, Moses, Mercy, and Minerva, on the noble portico of the Four Courts. For the Custom House, besides other works, he designed and executed two of the figures on the south portico, namely, Plenty, and Manufacture, the colossal statue of Commerce (easily, and indeed usually, mistaken for Hope) surmounting the cupola; twelve designs representing the rivers of Ireland and the produce of the country through which they flow, executed in Portland stone; the groups of the royal arms; and the relief in the tympanum of the south portico, of Neptune bringing treasures to Hibernia. The three noble figures on the eastern pediment of the Bank—Justice, Wisdom, and Liberty—are also by Edward Smith.

six shillings a week, and afterwards his salary would be raised to seventeen and sixpence. This was as much encouragement as could be expected, and Edward worked most industriously, often staying at home on Sundays to model groups of foliage and follow up his studies. He became intimate with Mr. Smith's family, and, young as he was, formed an attachment to one of the daughters of the house, whom he persuaded to engage herself to him. Before the term of apprenticeship expired, the head master found himself unable to provide work for Edward, who, seeing there was no use in remaining under such circumstances, made up his mind to go to London in search of employment. He was then a stripling of seventeen, looking even younger than his years; but in order to "make a man of himself" he bought a tall hat; and, thus accoutred, he felt more confidence in facing the great world. On his arrival in London he presented himself at the studio of an eminent sculptor and asked for employment, stating that he was accustomed to work on marble. "Marble!" exclaimed the artist, "pray do you know the value of a marble bust? and have you any idea what the consequences would be if you spoiled such a work?" The youth answered modestly, but was not engaged. Directing his steps to another studio, he made a like request when he found himself in the presence of the master. "You little codger!" cried the latter, setting his arms a-kimbo, and looking the lad straight in the face, "do you fancy I am such a fool as to put *you* on marble?"

Discouraged by the ill success of his applications, Edward wrote home, saying that he despaired of getting work in London, and thought he should go to Rome! His mother was much distressed at this news, and tried to encourage him to be patient for a while longer. After a little he wrote again, and had the good news to give that Mr. Behnes had taken him in and employed him on odds and ends. A coat-of-arms ordered by a nobleman was entrusted to the young carver, and he took extraordinary pains in giving it the highest finish. The nobleman was pleased, and the master highly commended the youth, saying that he himself should probably not have done it so well, as certainly he should not have taken so much pains. An engagement as assistant in this studio, at a salary of four pounds a week, set the aspiring sculptor on a safe and sure road to reputation and success.

Meanwhile, John Foley, the future great man of the

name, was still a boy at his mother's side in the little domestic school at Montgomery-street. What he was principally remarkable for in his early boyhood was idleness. His sister would do his sums for him to save him from his father's displeasure; and his mother would shed tears of anxiety over him, not knowing what was to become of so unpromising a child. His only anxiety seemed to be to get away to play in the neighbouring fields, whence he would return with his clothes covered with the green slime of the ditches. All the time, however, he was a most lovable boy. Family affection had a strong hold on him; he idolized his mother; and with his brothers and sisters he was gentle, playful, and sympathetic in a remarkable degree. A favourite sister still cherishes the recollection of his boyish attention to her pleasures, and remembers how he took an interest even in her dolls. Whenever an addition was made to the miniature family, John would christen the new comer, providing the cake and all that was necessary for the due celebration of the juvenile fete.

Still, in spite of idleness and thoughtlessness the genius of art early began to work within him, and fill his mind with dreams of the great things he should accomplish when he grew to be a man and a sculptor. On one occasion an old schoolmaster took him out with another boy* for a holiday ramble. It was St. Stephen's Day, and a visit to the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society was agreed on. In those days the Natural History collection was located in a suite of rooms on the second storey of Leinster House, and the approach was through the great hall, where stood a cast of Apollo Belvidere. As the little party passed on, Foley pointed to the statue, and exclaimed: "This is the sort of thing I'll spend my life at!"

When about twelve years of age the lad suddenly took a serious turn and began to read everything that came in his way. Light literature did not meet him as a stumbling-block on the road to information, for books of a trivial and dissipating kind had no place in the house. The only novel ever allowed was the *Vicar of Wakefield*. Newspapers, as a matter of course, the children were not permitted to read. More solid, therefore, than varied was the family library, and when John began to cultivate a taste for reading he had to make the most of the "*History of England*," "*Young's*

(*) J. J. M'Carthy, afterwards the very eminent architect to whom Ireland owes the noble cathedral of Killarney, the beautiful chapel at the Glasnevin cemetery, and other admired structures.

Night Thoughts," "Hervey's Meditations," selections from Shakespeare, and the like. Just about the same time he began to exhibit a remarkable aptitude for mechanical work. His father, who had not enjoyed good health of late years, did little more when at home than cultivate his pretty garden, but John now began to make himself very useful in the house. If a pane of glass were wanting, he put one in; if repairs had to be done, he did them; and, over and above, he amused himself making little chairs and tables for his sister. Mrs. Foley, perceiving that he showed such cleverness in this way thought that it might be well to bind him to a carpenter or upholsterer. This reached his ears, and, not agreeing in the least with his Apollo Belvedere dream, made him very uneasy. "If my mother says she intends to do this," he remarked to his sister, "she will surely do it. But," he added in a whisper, "I'll run away."

Though the artist grandfather who might have befriended him in such a strait was now no more, and Edward the artist brother was far away, John fortunately escaped being bound to a tradesman. When he was about thirteen he was allowed to attend the art schools of the Royal Dublin Society. Entering several classes, and practising assiduously from nine o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon, he made rapid and remarkable progress: carrying off prizes in modelling, architectural drawing, studies of the human form, ornamental design, and other branches of study. In 1833 he won the head prize in each of the four schools. An incident which occurred at this date is characteristic of the artist boy (who clearly was father to the artist man), and must not be omitted here. A piece of foliage which he had modelled for the competition was mischievously destroyed by another boy, and he returned home greatly fretted, for the prizes were to be adjudged at three o'clock next day. His mother fully shared his disappointment, but tried to make light of the matter, while fully allowing that he was the victim of a mischievous and ill-natured act. After some time, John suddenly said; "Mother, will you give me a pair of candles?" Mrs. Foley asked what he wanted the candles for; and he replied: "I have made up my mind to remain in the school all night and model another piece." His mother endeavoured to dissuade him, telling him it would be a dreadful thing to do, and he would certainly be discovered. She gave him the candles, however, and in the morning he set out as

usual. When the hour came for closing the school, he hid himself behind one of the great casts. The porter appeared at the door, glanced round the room to see that all was right, and, perceiving nothing unusual, turned the key and departed. During the night the model was completed.

An uncle of the young artist who happened to be staying in town at this time, took up *Saunders' News-Letter* one morning. "What is this," he exclaimed as he glanced down a column: "John Foley, adjudged the four head prizes!" And then, addressing the poor mother, who now cried for joy over the boy who had once given her cause to shed tears of anxiety, he congratulated her on having a son of whom she could be so justly proud.

Edward, hearing of his younger brother's success, wrote from London to have John sent over at once to share his home and become a student at the Royal Academy. This proposal could not possibly be rejected, though it cost the affectionate lad not a little to say good-bye to the family circle for a lengthened period. Much weeping there was on the part of the brothers and sisters; but John kept up as brave a face as he could, and acted as the consoler of the rest. "Now, don't cry," he said to one of his sisters, "I'll be a great man some day, and I'll buy you a silk dress!"

In March, 1834, he arrived in London, and devoting himself exclusively to sculpture, studied with the same application he had displayed while attending the Dublin schools. His model of the "Death of Abel" obtained him the studentship of the Royal Academy for ten years. He won also the large silver medal and books for a model from life. In the early days of his residence in London, he wrote home that he was devoting himself to music and poetry as well as to plastic art; and some pretty verses addressed to his mother, together with a song entitled "Past and Present," were forwarded as a proof that he was advancing in these kindred studies. When he was about twenty years of age he had a severe attack of jaundice, brought on by over-work. It would appear that he was not judiciously treated on this occasion, but was kept for many weeks on low diet, when he should have had generous nourishment. At any rate his complexion which was naturally a clear red and white, became rather swarthy, and his figure lost something of its original robustness. Still he continued what would be termed a very fine young

man, standing five feet seven inches in height. On recovering from this attack he set about pulling up for lost time, and progressed with such amazing rapidity that, in 1839, he appeared as a contributor to the Exhibition at the Royal Academy. On that occasion his models of "Innocence" and the "Death of Abel" obtained praise enough to turn the head of a young aspirant less devoted than John Foley to art for art's sake, and less genuinely inspired with the purpose of stopping short of nothing but supreme excellence.

This first public success was immediately followed by the production of a classic work, "Ino and the Infant Bacchus," which cast into the shade the compositions just named, and placed the sculptor, at twenty-two years of age, in the first rank of living artists. Ino, half reclining, raises her right arm which gracefully curves above her head, and seems about to drop a cluster of grapes, lightly held between the finger and thumb, into the outstretched arms of the baby Bacchus, extended in childlike fashion on his back, and encircled by her left arm.* The model of this exquisite group, exhibited in 1840, was eventually executed in marble for the Earl of Ellesmere, whose gallery at Bridgewater House it now adorns. Then came the "Death of Lear" in 1841; the "Houseless Wanderer" in 1842; and two years later the strikingly original figure of a "Youth at a Stream."

While residing with his brother, who had married Miss Smith, the object of his early affection, and lived in Devonshire-street, Portland-place,† John Foley, in conjunction with another sculptor, rented a house built purposely for studios in Edward-street, Hampstead-road.

* Another distinguished artist of the British School, Richard Wyatt, has treated this subject, though in a totally different manner. It would be interesting to study the two interpretations of the old world story if they could be seen together. Mrs. Jameson, in the "Handbook to the Courts of Modern Sculpture," speaking of Wyatt's "Ino," makes the following remarks: "She is seated, and the boy-god, who has flung himself against her knee, is looking up in her face. Clusters of grapes are near them. When Bacchus lost his mother, Semele, he was confided by Zeus (Jove) to the care of Ino, his aunt, who nursed him tenderly and fed him with grapes; after her death Ino was rendered immortal by her divine nursing, and worshipped as a sea-nymph under the name of Leucothea. Another treatment of this subject may be remembered in the beautiful group by Foley."

† Edward Foley made his way successfully in the English capital. He exhibited at the Royal Academy several original and graceful works, among them being "Ænone," "Penelope," "Helen of Troy," and the "Morning Star." His portrait busts, says a good authority, especially of ladies, were highly esteemed. He died in the early part of 1874, that is, some months before his famous brother.

Here it was, if we are not mistaken, that Mr. S. C. Hall made the acquaintance of his gifted fellow-countryman, and received the impressions (afterwards confirmed in closer intercourse) which some years later were so agreeably jotted down in his "Recollections." Another occupant of the small parlour in which he was received, Mr. Hall tells us, was the "Ino," much admired, but not then commissioned in marble. The world still lay before the man whose genius had imagined and whose hand had moulded this ideal form; yet he did not look like one hastening to storm the citadel of fame. Modest he was to a degree bordering on self-distrust; but "he was graceful in his manners and in every sentiment and sensation."

From that day forth Mr. Hall proved himself a sympathetic and helpful friend. One of the first engravings of statuary given in the *Art Journal* was Foley's "Ino and Bacchus," and this was succeeded as time went on by engravings of the sculptor's works according as they were produced. Thus his name became more widely known; and many who, perhaps, had no opportunity of seeing his work in bronze and marble were, by means of the *Art Journal* engravings, enabled in some degree to estimate the beauty of these masterpieces.

Shortly after the "Youth" was modelled, Mr. Foley, who had already won the golden opinions of his brother artists, and of that small fraternity of art-lovers whose intelligent admiration is an inspiring foretaste of a glorious fame, was afforded a splendid opportunity of exhibiting to the greater world his titles to that position of eminence which, with all his genuine modesty, he was conscious he could justly claim. The great national undertaking of erecting new Houses of Parliament at Westminster having been now for some time in progress, the artistic decorations of the halls, galleries, corridors, and porches had to be seriously considered. A fine field was offered to the painters of the day; and the sculptors should also be invited to put forth their best efforts. One of the first projects decided on was that St. Stephen's Hall, a stately chamber occupying the site of St. Stephen's chapel and forming one of the approaches to the House of Lords, should be adorned with marble statues of great men, whose voice had been heard in the chambers of the Legislature, and whose influence had controlled the nation's destiny. A competition was invited; the sculptors of England almost unanimously entered into it; and an exhibition was held at

Westminster Hall, to which the artists sent models of the statues or groups they had already executed. Mr. Foley sent as his credentials "Ino" and the "Youth." The result of the competition was that three sculptors received prizes, and were named at the same time to design and cut in marble statues for St. Stephen's Hall.

John Foley was one of the three thus honourably distinguished, and the commissions he received were for the statues of Hampden and Selden. Good reason he had to be satisfied with the subjects on which, at the nation's behest, he was now to exercise his art. In the "Hampden" especially he had full scope for the display of grace and power in true historic portraiture. His success was undoubted. This figure is the most striking of all the twelve marshalled in St. Stephen's Hall, and, moreover, is allowed to be one of the most beautiful portrait statues in modern art. Foley's "Hampden" is as little "like a stony image cold and dumb" as can be imagined; it affects one like the living presence of a great soul animating a noble physiognomy and a form all dignity and grace. This portrait in stone has been thus well described by Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse:—

"When we consider the marvellous collection of noble qualities which this man (Hampden) undoubtedly possessed, it appears an almost hopeless task to attempt to represent them in a single still white figure; but Foley has put them all, and more, into his work. There is birth in his bearing, knowledge and power in his head, taste in his dress, inflexibility of purpose in his mouth. . . . But, as we have said, there is more. The artist has managed to convey the impression of the soldier and the statesman, the commander and the orator; and in the perfectly-developed figure and the thoughtful brow, you find Hampden's own ideal of the 'old English gentleman,' 'All summer in the field, all winter in his study.' But there is even more than this: that wonderful union of power with modesty, the man that never obtruded himself, but was always equal to every emergency when it arose, that infinite reserve of force which could control itself. More than this even: there is precisely that union of the qualities for which we respectively admire both parties in that great warfare—the chivalry and absence of vulgarity of the Royalist, and that sternness of principle of the Roundhead—which is suggested partly by the costume, which has neither the effeminacy of the one, nor the ugliness of the other, and by the

attitude, which is as graceful as that of Charles I., and as uncompromising as that of Cromwell. Even yet more: by the gentleness of his face and the bareness of his sword, the figure shows the man who would postpone war till honour compelled it; but who, in Clarendon's celebrated words, 'when he drew the sword, threw away the scabbard.'"^{*}

Hampden, finished in 1847, won for the sculptor fame, honours, and commissions. This year was also the date of another happy event, namely, his marriage; on which occasion he took a lease of a house in Osnaburgh-street, and there fixed his residence and studio. One thing was still wanting to his happiness. He had often declared that he should never be satisfied until his mother came to live with him. Now her room and her arm-chair were got ready, and he counted on having her under his roof to end her days in peace and witness her once idle boy's honourable success. But this was not to be. Just then the poor mother was attacked with a fatal illness, and her sons, summoned from London to her bedside, arrived, to their great sorrow, too late to see her before she departed.

In 1849 Mr. Foley was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy. "The Mother," a companion group to "Ino and Bacchus," was exhibited in 1851. "Selden" was placed in St. Stephen's Hall, near "Hampden," in 1853. An ideal figure of "Egeria" was designed and cut in marble for the Mansion House in 1854, and an historic figure of "Caractacus," likewise commissioned by the Corporation of London, was finished in 1858, in which year the sculptor attained the full honours of the Academy and became an R.A.[†]

We should, however, have noted that the monumental group in bronze, "Viscount Hardinge on his war charger," executed for Calcutta, was finished before "Caractacus," and was exhibited in 1856. By many this work is considered Foley's highest achievement. His own "Outram," a companion group, may perhaps rival it. At any rate, in the equestrian style, this work has no superior in the whole range of modern sculpture. Exhibited in front of Burlington House previous to its departure for its destination

^{*} Critical and Illustrative Notes to the works of John Henry Foley, R. A.

[†] Irishmen have made a good figure among the Academicians. George Barrett was one of the originators and first members of the Academy. James Barry was one of its first professors. Sir Martin Archer Shee held the post of President of the Academy for twenty years. Mulready, Maclise, Elmore, and MacDowell have enjoyed the distinction of R. A.

in the East, the statue of Lord Hardinge attracted the enthusiastic admiration of the many, whose gift of expression oftentimes lags far behind their instinctive appreciation of what is passing excellent in art, while at the same time it won the genuine recognition of the learned in such matters. Certain it was that no such representation of horse and rider had ever been seen in the British empire, and it seemed doubtful whether any one of the world-famous equestrian figures surpassed it in perfect truth and downright beauty.

Equestrian statues of the first excellence are indeed few in number, and the artists whose works they are might almost be reckoned on the five fingers. When we name the sculptor of the "Marcus Aurelius" of the Capitol (though, in truth, we can only number, and not name him), and Donatello, Verocchio, Rauch, and Foley, we have well nigh completed the list of masters who have excelled in modelling the horse and his rider. Very interesting it is to study together the representative examples of ancient, mediæval, and modern art in this line, which the sculptors referred to have left behind in testimony of their genius. With the aid of engravings or photographs this can, in a more or less satisfactory way, be done, even by the respectable minority of art-lovers whose travels are accomplished mainly at the fireside; while memory alone enables, perhaps, as large a number to recall the master works of monumental art which stand in their pride of place in European cities.

Who, for instance, has ever bade adieu to the seven-hilled city without taking with him a living memory of the "Marcus Aurelius," that figure of ineffable dignity, and that war-horse worthy to bear the master of the Roman world? Who has visited Padua, and forgotten the "Gattamelata" of the piazza of Sant' Antonio, the very ideal of a soldier of fortune, encased in mail, rigid as a wall of brass, yet no burden to that steed of Flemish proportions whose chafing and neighing are made clearly obvious, as good old Vasari notes? Or again, is Venice, with its monuments, its domes, and its Campanili, fondly dwelt on, and has "Coleoni" vanished in the mental vision from that little space of solid earth in front of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where, elevated on his high pedestal, the stern-visaged warrior bestrides his thick-set, lightly-caparisoned charger in whose very hoofs resounds the tramp of war?*

* The "Marcus Aurelius" is the only equestrian statue in bronze of ancient

Rauch's "Frederick the Great" on horseback, wearing his cocked hat and military cloak, and elevated high above the group of generals who ride forth with him to battle,* may also be fittingly compared and contrasted with the statues just named, and with the "Hardinge;" though it would, we think, be better to postpone the study of Rauch and Foley in connection, until the O'Connell monument shall have been erected. For as we now have in the German sculptor's work the noblest martial monument in existence, so shall we then possess in Foley's, unless expectation be lamentably deceived, as glorious a trophy as ever was designed in memory of a bloodless and a deathless victory.

Serene and stately, wearing his military uniform, but with uncovered head and sword still sheathed, Lord Hardinge reins in his charger. A soldier confessed he is, in his well-knit nervous frame and firm seat in the saddle; but a ruler of the civil state as well, as his composed countenance and peaceful attitude betoken. The right hand holds the reins, the left wrist rests on the hip, and the eyes look straight out as if contemplating and controlling a situation pregnant with events. The horse, all nerve and blood, with arched neck, distended nostril and starting eye, is a very picture of grace and spirit as it paws the air and owns no curb but the gently firm hold of the rider.

As Donatello and Verocchio personified the gallant condottiere of the middle ages, armed to the teeth, confident in weight of metal and animal courage, bestriding his thick-

workmanship that has come down to us. It was dug up near St. John Lateran; and having stood in front of the basilica for nearly two hundred years, was removed to its present position in the piazza of the Campidoglio, by Michael Angelo, who greatly admired the group. Gazing at the horse, he is said to have cried out, *Cammina! Advance now!*

Donatello's "Gattamelata" shows, says Mr. Perkins ("Tuscan Sculptors," vol. i.), that the artist was more conversant with human than with equine anatomy; for he "succeeded less with the horse than with the rider, who, dressed in armour, and holding the baton of command in his left hand, while the reins are gathered in his right, sits somewhat stiffly, though with considerable dignity, on the back of a ponderous war-horse, whose head wants nobility and fire, and whose heavy limbs seem ill adapted for pursuit or flight." The same writer remarks that like the bronze horse which bears Coleoni at Venice, and like many other painted and sculptured steeds, not excepting some of the Elgin marbles, this horse lifts two legs on the same side, in a way not true to nature.

Verocchio, the sculptor of the "Coleoni," did not live to see his model cast in bronze. The monument was erected in 1496, and excited universal admiration in Venice. Alluding to its striking picturesqueness, someone has said that, seen by moonlight, it might have suggested the romance of Don Giovanni. Both the "Gattamelata" and the "Coleoni" still stand in the place for which they were designed, and on which they were erected four hundred years ago.

* The monument to Frederick the Great occupies a magnificent site in Berlin opposite the palace of the Prince of Prussia.

set vigorous war-horse; so has Foley portrayed with equal truth the military commander of the nineteenth century, disencumbered of shield and breastplate, victorious in the field and dominant in the council—mind against mind as much as sword against sword contending.

Great regret was expressed that this work of art should be for ever lost to England, and it was hoped that a *replica* of the "Hardinge" would be commissioned for London. However, for want, doubtless, of an energetic promoter, the necessary subscription was not collected, and India alone possesses the masterpiece. Though the general regret led to no practical result, the sculptor felt the compliment which the popular voice had paid him. He often alluded to the circumstance as one of the most gratifying incidents of his artistic life.

If employment had not been wanting up to this date, commissions seemed likely now to become overwhelming. For the most part, the work which Mr. Foley was invited to undertake was congenial to his character and genius; but it ran altogether in one line, that of portraiture and monumental design. To the classic and poetic studies of his first years he had to bid farewell. Whether he regretted this necessity; whether, if a free choice had been offered to him, he would have gone on translating from Olympus companions to the "Ino," embodying in human shape the ideal creations of the poet, and interpreting in stone the phantasms of a "creed outworn," we cannot say. Nor can we, in truth, regret that the force of circumstance withdrew him from "the constant service of the antique world," and constrained him to concentrate his power in that department which he has made so completely his own; for he has raised portraiture in his art to the eminence of historical work, and imparted at once such grace and character to his statues as to render them not only true to the general laws of fact, but satisfying to the artistic eye and feeling. What portraiture on canvas became in the hands of Titian and Velasques, Rubens and Rembrandt, portraiture in bronze and marble has become in the hands of Foley. These true artists had the faculty to discern what was best and most original in the nature of those whose form and features they undertook to paint or mould; and they had the art of making that quality reveal itself in the countenance and air. Moreover, as there are few faces which are incapable of being idealised by a poetic thought or glorified by a noble passion; and as even the bodily frame itself

assumes, under such influences, a characteristic grace and dignity; so did these supremely-gifted masters of the chisel and the brush catch and immortalise the ethereal transient beauty that transfigures face and form.

Thus are great works in portraiture produced. They are real, and yet ideal; satisfying the judgment because of their unquestionable truth, and delighting the heart because they present the subject of the artist's skill in the way we love best to remember him.

IV.

At the early age of forty years Foley had reached the highest position which an artist in our days, and in these countries, can ambition. He was a Royal Academician; his name was widely known and his works were universally admired; commissions poured in from every side; and he was singularly free—free from subservience to patronage, from hampering official engagements, from the irksomeness and slavery of arduous toil for bread alone. And if, as was the case, his career up to this period had been unmarked by extraordinary vicissitudes or disasters, neither was the current of his after-life destined to experience a chafing opposition from external agents, or any internal disturbance injurious to its happy, even flow. Indeed, one of the noteworthy facts about him is this: that while his professional course was unvaryingly fortunate, his character was of so genuine a stamp as to take no hurt in this exemption from the artist's ordinary trials; for, without question, it is easier for genius to emerge unharmed from the fire of tribulation than to pass unscathed through the ordeal of success.

In his freedom from the trammels of patronage he was particularly fortunate, in so far as it rendered all the more distinguished that genius which worked its way to eminence without the aids ordinarily tendered to the aspiring artist. Neither governments nor academies favoured him with their early notice or advanced him in any crisis of his opening career. No aristocratic virtuoso, no dilettante millionaire introduced him to the world of fashion, rank, or wealth: giving or obtaining for the yet unrecognised master that first, longed-for commission, which should immortalise in marble the offspring of his imagination, re-

veal his power to an admiring circle, and set him on the road to opulence and fame. Essentially and manifestly his early and splendid success was solely due to his artistic power, his unswerving resolution, and his enormous capacity for work.

Another advantage, too, followed from his inexperience of the relations which, in artistic life, are wont to be established between the patron and the patronised. Taste in matters of art had made inconsiderable progress in England when his career was beginning, and much ignorance prevailed with regard to sculpture. The professors of that art could hardly hope to obtain profitable commissions without the aid of influential patrons, and the latter often injured more than they served the true interests of art. Undebted, therefore, to patronage, which no doubt he could have obtained had he sought it, Foley was at liberty from first to last in following his own inspiration, unwarped by arbitrary interference, unshackled by injudicious dictation.

Again, it is to be observed that he received no help in his art education from continental travel and study in the great foreign schools of sculpture. He never visited the studios of Germany; he knew nothing of the academies of Italy; he never saw Rome. A visit to Paris and a tour in Rhineland were the beginning and end of his outward journeying. Opportunity was denied him at the age when he would have been free to undertake a serious study of the original works of the ancients, the masterpieces of mediæval art, and the best productions of cotemporary sculpture; and then, his mastership followed so closely on his studentship that work soon absorbed his attention and left him without leisure for travelling abroad. Thus he missed the special culture which the masters of his art, with few exceptions, had enjoyed; and in him was broken the tradition that a residence in Rome, or, at any rate, a course of study in some foreign school was essential to the education of a great sculptor.*

* As a rule, the German sculptors studied in Paris or Rome. Schwanthaler did not reside very long in the Eternal City, but Rauch spent about thirty years within its precincts. Thorwaldsen never left Rome except for one short interval during more than forty years. He did not count as life the time preceding his establishment in the capital of art. Someone having asked him the date of his birth, he replied: "I don't know; but I *arrived in Rome* on the 8th of March, 1797." The French Academy of Art rewards its successful students by bestowing on them the *Prix de Rome*, which entitles them to three years' residence in the Villa Medici, with all the advantages of a course of study in the Papal Galleries. English sculptors have not so invariably tended Rome-wards; but Flaxman studied

However, although he missed in this instance what he would not without necessity forego, it is quite possible that there may have been some compensation in this loss also. He may have been saved from falling into that inordinate worship of the antique which has enslaved the free soul of many an artist, and lowered to the status of a copyist of classic models genius which otherwise might have attained to the position due to originality in thought and style. Thrown more completely on the ideal in his own mind, Foley had less temptation to follow after strange gods; and, for the rest, there was no lack of fine models for a student of sound intelligence and original power in that northern capital which possesses the Elgin marbles. While the contest between the Realists and the Idealists was raging in Italy and France, England, though no stranger to the interest of the warfare, debated the question rather than fought in the lists; and Foley, meanwhile, struck out his own path equally independent of the lines of the opposing factions.*

Possibly, the only real loss the artist sustained through his imprisonment within the British isles was the deprivation of that cultured enjoyment which is attainable in continental centres of literature and art, and in the society of gifted men of other nations.

It will be remembered that Foley, in his boyhood, received very little education, scientific or literary. And yet his works are a sufficient evidence that he was a well-read, highly-cultivated man. The fact is, that in his early manhood he supplied, by diligent study, the defects of previous training, and continued up to the end to give much time to books. He was a thoughtful and methodical reader, not an omnivorous devourer of newspapers, magazines, and

for seven years in the shadow of the seven hills; Gibson lived twenty-four years on the Tiber's banks; Theed nearly as long; and Wyatt even longer. Our own Hogan was sent to Rome by his art-loving friends, and had his home there for many years. The American sculptors follow the example of European artists: Crawford, Story, Miss Hosmer, and others have, or have had, each a studio in Rome.

* Giovanni Dupré, the Italian sculptor, gives in his interesting work, "I miei Ricordi," an account of the rival schools and of his own perplexity in trying to decide between them. In the end he found they were both in error. "L'errore delle due scuole," he says, "cioè degli Accademici e dei Veristi, è in ciò: quella, esagerando il precetto, trascura i particolari e fa duro e freddo; questa, moltiplicandoli all' infinito, cade nella minuzia e fa l'arte volgare. Son due errori, due brutture, due falsità." How, one day, in passing through the Trastevere, he became suddenly convinced that the Greeks, whom the Accademici would alone study as models, went themselves directly to nature; and how this discovery affected his own practice as a sculptor is charmingly told in the autobiographical work above named.

volumes great and small. Although he made himself acquainted with the best works of modern writers, he never lost his love for the books that had delighted him in his boyhood. The "Vicar of Wakefield" he considered the most natural story that ever was written, and he re-read it with enjoyment even in his latter days. He constantly carried in his pocket a copy of the diamond edition of "Young's Night Thoughts," another early favourite. Even if he had been illiterate he would not have been altogether an exception among sculptors; for some, even of eminence in the art, were uneducated, and one of the very greatest in our own day could hardly write or spell. But Foley's line of work required that he should be, on many subjects, more than superficially informed. Scrupulous regard for truth in details is everywhere observable in his work; and a luminous revelation of character was what he aimed at and achieved in his portraiture. These suppose an attentive study of the life and qualities of the men whose "counterfeit presentment" he was to produce by the employment of the legitimate resources of his art; and demanded, no less, an acquaintance with the period in which the lot of these men was cast.

Take Oliver Goldsmith for example. Short of living domesticated with the author of the "Deserted Village," one could not be more thoroughly acquainted with him than was the artist who knew the melody of his verse and "that other harmony" of his prose; appreciated his generous, boyish, affectionate disposition; sympathised with his tenderness for old associations and old friends, and his longing to get back to Ireland and lay his bones with the ashes of his kindred: understood and loved the man, in a word, and so made a portrait of him, which is at once the simple truth and a masterpiece of art. Difficulties beset the subject. According to the common notion, a statue of Goldsmith, with his bare protruding forehead and plain features, and his inelegant form habited in the breeches and coat of the period, would be an unlikely figure to inspire the genius of an artist. But, difficulties are inspiring to a man of Foley's temperament, and he was determined that the work he was required to execute should be something more than an effigy in bronze, with "Goldsmith" cut beneath. Immortalised in his better self, and planted on his native soil—come home at last—Goldsmith stands in the post of honour at the gates of that college where he spent some miserable years, where he was little thought of in the days

of his sizarship, but where his name is now treasured as a proud inheritance.

And so was it with Edmund Burke, the companion to Goldsmith in front of Trinity College. Statesman, philosopher, master of the spoken and the written tongue, the foremost man of his age, and the greatest Irishman that ever lived, Burke tasks in no small measure those who would learn to thoroughly understand and appreciate his character and genius. Samuel Johnson said that if one were driven to seek shelter from a shower of rain under the same gateway with Burke, one must in a few minutes perceive his superiority over common men. Was this in Foley's mind when he began, out of a lump of clay, to mould the form of Edmund Burke? We cannot say. But certain we are, that not the dullest stranger that ever visited our shores could pass by Trinity College and lift his gaze towards Foley's statue without asking himself, Who this superlatively great man can be. Burke, elevated on his pedestal, stands without book or pen or attribute of any kind; one foot is advanced sufficiently to balance the figure, the left hand falls by the side and grasps a scroll, the right rests open on the hip. Nothing could be more unaffected than the attitude. And yet life seems to move within that form, animated with a noble passion,—still, but only in the pause of action thrilling and momentous. Foley succeeded in this splendid impersonation because he was imbued with the spirit of his illustrious fellow-countryman. He worshipped Burke.*

Foley's method of work was at once simple and thorough. In the first place he devoted himself to an earnest study of his subject in its essential and historical aspects, in this course going far beyond what others would consider necessary, and never resting satisfied until his memory was well stored with facts, and his imagination fully supplied with material to work on. Then, in the second place, he considered how, in plastic art, could best be represented the poet, the soldier, the patriot, the statesman whom he undertook to portray, or the incident which had to be recorded in relief or in the round. Finally came the working-out of this ideal in conformity with the rules of his art: a labour of head and hand occupying, in the case of an important commission, not months, but years.

* "In his own native city the 'Goldsmith' and 'Burke' of Foley, appropriately placed in front of old Trinity College, prove proudly and lastingly that the genius of Ireland, whether in poetry or eloquence, in writing or in sculpture, is immortal.—*Annual Register*, 1874.

Most of the work which he executed was important, and most of it was congenial also, that is to say, such as he could throw his heart into. Visitors to his studio might perceive at a glance that the subjects he was engaged on were of an elevating character, bracing to the mind and pleasing to the imagination. No doubt, it did sometimes happen that time and labour were unduly expended even in that studio on monuments too colossal for the memory they were designed to perpetuate. Mediocrity set in high station could hardly in itself supply the *motive* for a work on which the artist might lavish the resources of design and execution to his own entire satisfaction. But such commissions, honourable as a testimony of his eminence, were not of his own choosing. He considered there was oftentimes an immense amount of toadyism displayed in the getting up of public monuments to individuals. "One might suppose" he would exclaim, "that So-and-so was a wonderful genius or a great benefactor of the human race, such anxiety is shown in raising up a monument to his honour! And then to think," he would add, "that there is no national memorial to Shakspeare!" His fancy pursued this idea, and he would dwell on the delight of executing a work so important and so inspiring. Nothing, however, in the least approaching to it in magnitude and character was offered to him, until towards the very end, when he was summoned to build up the national monument of Ireland.

V.

The number of marbles, casts, and designs in every stage of progress which filled the studio rendered a visit to the sculptor in his working hours singularly interesting. For some years, the studio was at No. 17 Osnaburgh-street. Afterwards, Mr. Foley removed to No. 10 in the same street, took the adjoining house, added to and improved the premises, and made a very fine studio, approached by a glass door from the dwelling-house. The gallery was a truly noble one, in which the casts, finished and painted, were arranged: a pedestal, surmounted by a bust, standing between every two figures. Rows of workshops, screened by curtains, ranged along the sides, and at the end was a lofty studio for equestrian models. A walk in the twilight or by moonlight through the silent gallery,

peopled with forms of dignity and beauty, was an enjoyment not easily forgotten. Oftentimes, during Mr. Foley's occupancy, the common-place character of Osnaburgh-street was relieved by the appearance of distinguished or unusual visitors. Once, to the great surprise of the neighbourhood, the Corporation arrived in a long line of cabs, like a funeral procession. The civic dignitaries had come to see Mr. Foley's models, and choose two figures to be executed in marble, and placed in the Egyptian Room of the Mansion House. Frequently, it was the apparition of the royal carriages that caused a commotion in the street. The Queen visited the studio more than once while the monument to Colonel Bruce was in progress; and, later, her Majesty came frequently to see the models for the statue of the Prince Consort, designed for the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park.

Surrounded by his own creations, Mr. Foley was himself not the least attractive figure in the studio. His peculiarly gentle and unassuming manner had a special charm under circumstances which did not permit one to forget for a moment that his was the master mind and his the skilled hand which originated these multifarious and exquisite works. In his work-day dress—a long gray coat and black silk cap—he would accompany his visitor round the studio, stopping before the different statues in progress, making an observation incidentally to his pupils while pointing with his stick to a part which might be improved, and showing the quickness of the artist's eye in measuring the advance of each of the works on which the men under his direction were engaged. A favoured visitor sometimes enjoyed a greater favour still, in having an appointment made for him at the studio in the evening hours, when the assistants had left, and the sculptor remained alone in the midst of his works. The only occasion when a visit to the studio left a trace of sadness in the memory was in the artist's latter days; for then the expression of his countenance betrayed the suffering he experienced in contemplating the unfinished works, while he was all too conscious that the shades were falling and the night approaching wherein no man can work. At this period, not being able to use the chisel himself, he would remain seated while directing his assistants.

Foley's studio received new inmates faster than the old ones departed: and for this reason, that he kept his works

by him until he was satisfied that no more could be done to perfect any detail. Mr. Teniswood relates that he has often joined him in a visit to the studios at night—their route “lit by a small lamp he carried for such nocturnal inspections;” and has “seen him test the condition of works in hand by lighting them from all approachable parts. And as, under such an ordeal, his models rarely escaped without the apparent necessity for reduction in one part, or increase in another, hasty indications of alteration were made upon them for consideration in the next day’s work.”

One of his last completed groups, “Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram on his charger,” may be cited as an example of this conscientious and indefatigable labour. He kept the work twelve years in his studio; and even after it had been cast, he would go to the foundry and lay clay on the bronze figure to improve some portion, insisting on having a piece of bronze cast and let in at this or that place. In fact the statue may be said to have been recast more than once.* And this is the more remarkable because no work of this master, or perhaps of any master, suggests so completely the idea of spontaneity of production. After its completion, and previous to its departure for Calcutta, it was exhibited in front of the Athenæum Club, and called forth, as was remarked at the time, the heartiest and most unanimous praise ever spontaneously bestowed on a public monument. Professional critics were more divided than the world at large on the question of its merits. While some authorities claimed for it pre-eminence among the sculptor’s works, others objected to the want of classical repose in the design.† Anyhow, it is quite true to say, as the *Saturday Review* did say, “the group is so bold, so full of life and vigour, and so faithfully modelled, that criticism is absolutely set at nought and defied.” Surely before trying to form an opinion of this magnificent work, one ought to understand that the artist’s object was not merely to model a general on horseback, but to represent the fearless, chivalrous Outram on his war-steed; and should remember that, as “Outram” was to stand beside “Har-

* See “The Studio of the late J. H. Foley, R.A.—*Freeman’s Journal*, Sept. 8, 1874.

† The *Athenæum*, in recording the death of Mr. Foley, names this group as decidedly his masterpiece, and adds that “the death of an artist so capable as the sculptor of ‘Outram’ is a national loss; for power to produce works so large and in so grand a style is very rare.”

dinge," contrast must be studied, both for the sake of artistic effect and to emphasise the qualities most characteristic in the sage Governor-General of India and in the "Bayard of the East" respectively. Outram was distinguished even among the bravest of the brave; and, rules or no rules, classic repose or realistic action, an artist of Foley's judgment could not but make soldierly dash and daring the *motive* of the composition which was to be the hero's memorial. Here is Outram's character epitomised:—

"In the political and military history of our vast eastern empire, during recent times, the figure of Outram stands out a full head and shoulders above his cotemporaries. His was a character which did not gain the splendid sobriquet of the 'Bayard of India' without just cause. His simplicity of life, his heroic self-abnegation, his generosity, his contempt of all pecuniary advantages to himself, and the power he possessed of exciting the sympathy of all classes of men, made him, indeed, no unworthy representative of the soldier-poet. Self was never in his thoughts. He was always ready to sacrifice himself for others; he would take, without ostentation, the post of danger and trial, or of labour and difficulty, and would so order things of his own intention—as he did at Lucknow—that others should, if possible, receive the honour and full reward. . . . Single-minded, loyal, courageous, and the most courteous and sensitive of men to his official inferiors, he well deserved the name bestowed on him, even by his bitter enemy, of the 'Bayard of India.'"^{*} Add to this that a dashing heroism distinguished him in the field; that feats of daring illustrated his career at every turn; and that, magnanimous in renunciation though he was, honours lay in wait for him, and pursued him, and all but overwhelmed him in the end: add all these together, and then some idea may be formed of the exceptionally striking character of Outram.

And now let us turn to Foley's impersonation and study it in detail.

"The daring originality of this magnificent work places it as far above the reach of the ordinary canons of criticism, as it is beyond any similar productions with which the world is as yet acquainted. Life and energy are impressed on every inch of its surface with a mastery and skill to be found only in the works of this sculptor, who has here surpassed even the grandeur of his famous 'Lord Hardinge,'

^{*} *Westminster Review*, October, 1880.

now in Calcutta. Mr. Foley, doubtless, felt the value of his present noble subject, and has herein accomplished a result that not only excites our admiring wonder by its sense of power and grandeur of expressive effect, but realises in its design and detail the fearless character of the intrepid hero. Sir James bestrides his fiery charger with ease and safety. In hot pursuit of the enemy, he turns upon his saddle to notice some circumstance of the charge, his sword hand resting on the flank of his horse, which, with tightened curb, is suddenly thrown back upon its haunches. The anatomy of the animal is as learnedly studied as it is brilliantly rendered: bone, sinew, and muscle present their respective aspects and characters in a combination of surface and mobility never before presented in plastic art. The action of man and horse is so simultaneous as to suppose the sudden transformation into bronze of a group in life. The lines of the composition produce, in nearly all views, a grandeur of form and striking richness of effect.”*

VI.

It may be interesting now to leave the studio for a while and seek the artist in his home. The transition is not difficult, for Mr. Foley's fixed residence, as well as his studio, was at Osnaburgh House. His personal life was essentially domestic, and when he was not among his workmen he was sure to be with his family.

We have seen how materially his art training differed from that of famous sculptors generally. When, on the contrary, we come to consider his personal character and private life, we are struck by the likeness he bore to his predecessors, the great masters of the chisel. Artist life, as commonly described, relates solely to the life of painters by profession, and regards not at all the life of sculptors. Variety, adventure, enjoyment of the pleasures of existence, splendid surroundings, general brightness, only just “relieved” with shadow: these we notice in the personal history of famous painters. The foremost among them were remarkable for their social and intellectual accomplishments as well as for their genius in art. Citizens

* *Art Journal*, 1873.

of station, associates of princes, we find them entrusted with important offices, despatched on diplomatic missions, travelling much abroad, and everywhere playing their part with distinction. Their life, like their art, was full of colour and of picturesque scenes.*

On the other hand, the sculptors, when grouped together, display strongly marked personal characteristics, differing materially from the painters' type, while the story of their lives affords a striking contrast to that of the masters of colour and perspective. Almost invariably they were by birth of the artisan class; early acquired habits of industry and frugal living; seldom ranged beyond the art education strictly necessary for their profession; dwelt apart from the world's brilliant stage; and, shaping their course in simple harmonious lines, made their life correspond with their art. A lump of waste mould, a block of marble, the ideal in their own mind: such was their outfit; with these they began life, and with these they ended. No material splendour approached them even in their studio. Married, as they usually were, their home was a peaceful refuge, in which they found repose after the daily toil of hand and brain, and not unfrequently precious sympathy also. For charming pictures of a sculptor's household, one need not go beyond the memoirs of the English Flaxman, the French Rude, and the Italian Dupré. Or, if they formed no family tie, their leisure was not for that consumed in dissipation; their amusements were of a refined order; and their expenditure was kept within the bounds of moderation. Though not always reaching in disinterestedness to the height of Michael Angelo, who undertook the work at St. Peter's solely on condition that

* For examples of brilliant artist life we need only recall John van Eyck at the court of the Duke of Burgundy; Titian entertaining the King of France in his house at Venice, and enjoying his garden suppers in the company of intellectual friends; Velasques concluding diplomatic business with the Pope on behalf of Philip of Spain, and assigned apartments, now at the Vatican, and again in the palace of the most Catholic king; Rubens keeping up an establishment in high burgher style in the Place de Meir at Antwerp, and setting forth to negotiate peace between Spain and England, displaying such magnificence while on the embassy that the Prince of Portugal shrank from receiving him as a guest; Raphael living more like a prince than a painter, and going to court accompanied by a brilliant train of pupils and admirers; and Vandyck maintaining a town and a country-house in England, and entertaining at his table princes and ladies of high rank.

As instances of varied and high attainments possessed by great painters, note Albert Durer's devotion to mathematical science and theological studies; Salvator Rosa's musical compositions; and Leonardo da Vinci's philosophical speculations and scientific pursuits.

he should receive no remuneration ; or of Donatello, who kept his money in a basket suspended from the roof, so that his assistants and friends might take what they needed without saying anything to him ; sculptors, as a rule, have shown little disposition to accumulate wealth, and great generosity in helping others. Simple-minded, unspoiled, unworldly men they were ; seldom receiving public honours ; or, when so distinguished, wearing their decorations with a modest dignity.*

A preference for "high thinking" *versus* "high living ;" unostentatious generosity in sharing with others the gifts he had received from fortune ; love of home, and desire to see all around him happy ; delight in refined and healthful recreations : these, together with the capacity for work and the invincible perseverance already noted, were prominent traits in Foley's character.

Engaged, as he habitually was, in serious study even when his hands were unemployed, casual observers remarked that he was taciturn, rather absent in manner, completely absorbed in his art. And so he undoubtedly was in the working hours. And these hours were long and anxious, and hardly interrupted even by his meals. A quarter of an hour was the time he allowed himself for dinner, and he would often sit down so pre-occupied with the studio work as to appear to take his food mechanically. The rule was that he should not be called away from table ; and yet accidents would sometimes happen, and the *petite quart d'heure* suffer a disastrous interruption. A knock at the door at that particular time could mean nothing less than a calamity in the studio. Once it heralded the announcement that the model of the "Outram" had been injured ; and when Mr. Foley hastened to the scene of the catastrophe, he found that through the ignorant presumption of an assistant, who had been desired not to meddle with the work, a rope had broken, and the horse's head had been thrown off to one side of the studio and the tail to another. On such occasions the artist needed all his patience, and, fortunately for himself, he was well practised in that virtue.

When the toil of the day was over, he needed nothing more for relaxation than an evening in the domestic circle with his books, his music, or such amusements as all could

* Among the titled sculptors must be named Canova, created Marquis of Ischia by the Pope ; and Tenerani, the greatest Italian sculptor of our own day, made a knight of St. Michael by Louis I. of Bavaria.

join in. He played exquisitely on the flute, and wrote songs which he set to airs of his own composition. Often he would remain up to a late hour of the night playing on his favourite instrument, and those who heard the sounds would say to themselves: "Will he never stop? How can he be up for his work to-morrow if this go on?"

Another favourite recreation was an excursion into the country. Nature, in her wild and beautiful aspects, had a fascination for him, and so true was the feeling with which he observed the play of light and shade, the grace of outline, and the picturesque in composition, that his opinion was frequently consulted by landscape painters on matters appertaining to their branch of art. Except to visit thus the fields, the woods, the river banks, and the breezy hills, he seldom went abroad for amusement. He accepted very few invitations—although during the London season he received many from the most distinguished in rank and letters. Whenever he did appear in fashionable circles on an evening, he was sure to return home early. Any other course would have unfitted him, he said, for his work next day.

He was far from being unsocial, however. He entertained his friends with genuine hospitality at a simple board: his genial manner, and his pleasant talk—rich with information and dashed with unaffected humour—making these little parties charming and memorable.

On occasions, too, the social evenings were distinguished by a quite exhilarating jollity. These galas were heralded by the announcement that friends had arrived from Ireland. No matter how pre-occupied he was—and sometimes he would sit down to dinner and seem to take his meal mechanically—he no sooner learned the good news than he cast aside all anxiety, and engaged himself in mirthful thoughts and the question of preparing a pleasant supper for the expected guests, suggesting such a profusion of supplies for the banquet, that his good wife would at length feel called upon to observe that such plentiful dishes were not necessary. "Never mind," he would reply. "This is what they like—fine big joints. You need not keep what is left in the house. Give it to the poor."

Although he was not blessed with children, he had a great love for young people. A children's party was one of his delights; and it was amusing to see him surrounded by the youngsters, while, penknife in hand, he cut for

them out of a piece of card-board, as if by magic, all manner of antediluvian animals.

VII.

In the midst of his noble labours and happy family life there was a dream which he fondly cherished; the dream of returning to Ireland in time to come and spending his declining years among his own people. The day seemed distant enough when this might be accomplished; but meanwhile he had the satisfaction of returning home in another sense, and drawing closer the ties that bound him to his native land. He had received many commissions from Ireland; some of his best work was already there, and the most important of all was destined for his birthplace. His name and his fame were already established in his native land.

But the dream of returning was destined to be fatally, though not suddenly, dispelled. In 1871 he was seized with an attack of pleuritic effusion, brought on, it was thought, by exposure to cold while at work on the female figure in the group of "Asia," a process which necessitated his sitting for hours at a time on the wet clay forming the limbs of the figure, while modelling the bust. He was obliged to relinquish work and take rest at Hastings. Common prudence would have suggested a temporary residence in a warmer climate, but he could not endure the thought of being banished to a distance. "Do not send me away," he said to Sir William Jenner, who attended him, "for I cannot quit the country; I cannot leave my workmen." He recovered from this attack, after a sojourn of some duration at the seaside. While at Hastings, he composed the words and music of a song, which those about him understood to be, in a veiled way, a farewell to that place and to the world: for he had a presentiment of approaching death. The song is entitled "Here we must part," and ends with this verse:—

"Farewell, forget me, may thy days roll on,
Still blessed, till time shall be no more;
I would not have thy bosom harbour one
Dark drop that sorrow from its depths might pour.
Farewell, cast from thy glist'ning eyes
Those tears, and let them be
The last that evermore shall rise
In memory of me."

Mr. Foley returned to Hampstead, where he had some time before bought a house with a fine conservatory and garden, and, though always in a delicate state of health, continued to work in his studio during the next three years with his accustomed energy and an ever-increasing anxiety. He was obliged to decline many commissions, and to devote all his power to advancing and finishing those he had already undertaken. Among the latter were the magnificent group of five figures representing "Asia," and the colossal-seated figure of the Prince Consort, both for the Albert Memorial in Hyde-park; the equestrian group of Earl Canning for Calcutta; the statue of Lord Elphinstone for Bombay; the Hon. James Stuart, for Ceylon; General Stonewall Jackson, for the United States; "Grattan," "Lord Gough," "Sir B. L. Guinness," for Dublin; and finally the "O'Connell Monument,"

The design for the Albert Memorial, with which design, however, Mr. Foley had nothing to do, included four groups for the base of the monument, symbolising the four quarters of the globe, each group composed of a number of human figures, with an animal in the centre. These groups were to be executed by four of the eminent sculptors of England. Mr. MacDowell, possibly on account of his seniority, was allowed his choice of the four subjects, and he took "Europe." On account of the elephant, "Asia" was considered an embarrassment. Mr. Foley, when asked to make his selection, replied, in his characteristic off-hand way, "Leave me any; I don't mind which." His treatment of the subject is equally characteristic of his genius. The composition is highly symmetrical; the figures are types of oriental character, some of them being of extraordinary beauty; and over the whole reigns the calm dignity of idealized Eastern life. Baron Marochetti had been instructed to prepare a model for the figure of the prince, which was to occupy the centre of the monument. He did so, but without giving satisfaction. A second model had no better fortune, the Italian sculptor being, in fact, old and past his power; and then the Queen, by what was virtually a command, directed Mr. Foley to undertake the work. Her Majesty was so anxious he should undertake it, that she intimated to him her intention of paying for it out of her private purse. The models met with the royal approval, and the sculptor was handsomely remunerated. It may be interesting to mention that the statue was cast from pieces

of ordnance, weighs ten tons, and is gilded to the thickness of a half sovereign.

The statue of Stonewall Jackson was commissioned by English admirers of the Confederate general, for presentation to the State of Virginia. It may also be mentioned that the sculptor gave the design for the Seal of the Confederate States of America, executed in silver, and measuring between three and four inches in diameter. In the centre is a representation of Crawford's statue of Washington, surmounted by a wreath of tobacco, rice, maize, cotton, wheat, and sugar-cane; and the rim bears the legend, "The Confederate States of America 22 February 1862 Deo Vindice."

Mr. Foley was particularly interested in the memorial of Lord Gough, the hero of twenty-eight battles, who led his men into action to the inspiring strains of "Garryowen" and "St. Patrick's Day;" and who, after the toil and strife were over, returned to pass his venerable age, wear his honours, and spend his fortune in his own land. The artist having suggested that the metal of guns captured during the Sikh campaigns by the force under the command of Lord Gough should be used in casting the group, the House of Commons prayed the Queen to direct that such material should be supplied, and her Majesty granted the prayer. As the funds at the disposal of the Committee were not sufficient for the work if an altogether new model were to be made, Mr. Foley asked them whether, under these circumstances, they would be satisfied to have Gough mounted on Hardinge's war-horse. They were quite satisfied to have it so; and, thanks to their wise and prompt decision, Ireland now can boast of possessing in the Gough memorial the finest equestrian statue in the British Isles.

With much more than alacrity and goodwill Mr. Foley had, in 1867, undertaken the "O'Connell monument." Holding political opinions of a decidedly liberal order, he entertained a genuine admiration for the Liberator, whom he often met in society in London. By the terms of the contract entered into, the sculptor was to receive, according as the work advanced, considerable sums of money, amounting, if we mistake not, to a total of between £12,000 and £13,000.* Yet, so elaborate was the design, so infinite the

* The following is an abstract of the description of the monument given in the *O'Connell Centenary Record*.—

"The National monument consists of three distinct parts:—the square solid

labour bestowed on every part, and so great the expense which must be incurred in the erection of the monument, that the men in the studio used to say to one another, "How can he possibly do it for the money?"

But Foley did not care much for the money profits. Cost what it might, he was resolved to leave after him in this work a testimony of the gifts which the Almighty had bestowed on himself, as well as a memorial of Ireland's gratitude to the tribune of the people. The idea of raising thus at once a monument to art and a trophy to patriotism, gained on him as it became more and more evident that this *capo d'opera* must be his last achievement. The sketch models for the monument were completed, and the preparation of the full-size clay models was being proceeded with when the final summons came. In his last hours, the crowning work of his career occupied his thoughts, and he did all that in him lay to ensure its faithful completion

base, or podium, which includes two gradients; the cylindrical drum, resting on the base, with fifty allegorical figures, in high *alto-relievo*; and, above, crowning the whole, O'CONNELL. The pediment is granite, with the arms of each of the four provinces, in the centre of the respective upright faces. Projecting from the four corners of the base are four winged victories, seated—representing Victory, by Patriotism, who grasps a sword in her right hand, and holds a shield on her left; Victory, by Fidelity, holding the mariner's compass, and caressing the head of a hound; Victory, by Courage, strangling with one hand a serpent, while she crushes its writhing body under her feet, and with the other grasps the bound bundle of reeds, symbolising strength of weak materials effected by union; and, Victory, by Eloquence, holding in one hand the roll of documents from which she draws the arguments of her cause, while the other is gracefully outstretched in the classic attitude of oratory. The wings of these figures are considerably elevated, and impart great symbolic boldness to the lower portion of the monument. The figures on the drum are in such relief that they appear almost as distinct statues. In front of the drum is a statue, eight feet in height, of Erin, trampling under foot her discarded fetters, her left hand grasping the Act of Emancipation, and her right pointing aloft to the statue of the Liberator. On her immediate left is a Catholic bishop, leading a youth by the hand and pointing to the charter of freedom in Erin's hand; and in a knot around the bishop, listening to his words, are a number of priests, forming a group representative of the Church. Following these in the order named, are the historian with his book; the painter with the implements of his art; and the musician, holding a scroll, on which are legible the words and score of the air of Moore's spirited melody, so frequently quoted by O'Connell—"Oh! where's the slave so lowly, &c., &c." Next in the group come the artisan, with his kit of tools, the soldier and the sailor side by side, the Peer and the Commoner (discussing the Act and its effects), the Doctors of Law and Medicine in their academic robes, the man of science, the architect, the merchant, the representative of civic authority in municipal robes, and the peasantry of various types. Then, towering above this splendid structure, stands the figure of O'Connell—one hand resting in the breast of his buttoned up frock coat, and the other holding a roll of paper. The dimensions of the monument are in keeping with the grandeur of the design, as may be seen from the fact that the statue of O'Connell is twelve feet in height; each of the four winged victories eleven feet; the figure of Erin is eight feet, those around it being only slightly less; and the whole structure rises to an altitude of forty feet."

according to the original design, by directing that it should be left in the hands of his pupil and chief assistant, Mr. Brock.

A more appropriate site could not be chosen than that on which will be erected this monument to O'Connell's patriotism and to Foley's art. Within view is the building in which Catholic Emancipation was virtually carried; and the foundations are laid on the border-line of the parish where John Henry Foley was born.

In the midst of his work and in the full maturity of his powers, the sculptor was called away. Still, his death cannot be pronounced premature. He lived long enough to accomplish great things: to produce works of the highest excellence in the art to which he was devoted; to offer an example of a rare union of moral worth with brilliant genius; and to inscribe yet another name on the roll of Ireland's illustrious sons.

As far as we can ascertain, no complete list of Foley's works has appeared in print. Thanks to the diligence and kindness of a friend, we are enabled to give the following enumeration which certainly must be very nearly a true return:—

CLASSICAL AND IMAGINATIVE SUBJECTS.

- "The Death of Abel."
- "Innocence."
- "Ino and the Infant Bacchus." Bridgewater House.
- "Lear and Cordelia."
- "The Death of Lear."
- "Prospero relating his adventures to Miranda."
- "Venus rescuing Æneas from Diomed."
- "Contemplation."
- "The Mother."
- "Egeria." Mansion House, London.
- "The Elder Brother in Comus." His diploma work. Royal Academy.
- "A Youth at a Stream."
- "The Houseless Wanderer."
- "Adversity."
- "Prosperity."
- "Imogen."
- The Group of "Asia." Hyde Park.

EQUESTRIAN GROUPS.

"Lord Hardinge."	}	Calcutta.
"Sir James Outram."		
"Lord Canning."		
"Lord Gough."		Dublin.

STATUES.

"Hampden."	}	New Palace, Westminster.
"Selden."		
"Sir Joshua Reynolds."	}	Westminster Abbey.
"Sir Charles Barry."		
"Lord Canning,"		War Office.
"Lord Herbert."		Todmorden.
"Mr. Fielden."		Glasgow.
"Lord Clyde."		Mansion House, London.
"Caractacus."		Liverpool.
"William Rathbone,"	}	Dublin.
"Goldsmith."		
"Burke."		
"Grattan."		
"Earl of Carlisle."		
"Sir D. Corrigan."		
"Sir H. Marsh."		
"Dr. Stokes."		
"Sir B. L. Guinness."		
"The Prince Consort."		
"The Prince Consort."	Birmingham.	
"The Prince Consort."	Hyde Park.	
"Sir Walter Raleigh."		
"Michael Faraday."		
"Lord Rosse."		
"Father Mathew."		Cork.
"A Parsee Dignitary."	}	Bombay.
"Lord Elphinstone."		
"Sir James Stuart."		Ceylon.
"General Stonewall Jackson."		Lexington, Virginia.
"Leith Ritchie."		

MONUMENTS AND WORKS IN RELIEF.

"The Muse of Painting." Monument to James Ward, R.A.

Monuments and Works in Relief—continued.

- "Grief." Monument to Admiral Cornwallis in Mel-field Church.
- "The Cashmere Bastion, Delhi." Monument to General John Nicholson in Lisburn Cathedral.
- "The Tomb Revisited." Monument to John Jones in Guilfield Church.
- Memorial Tomb to Major-General Bruce in Dunfermline Abbey.
- Memorial to William Cobbett.
- Memorial to Sir Walter Raleigh.
- Memorial to Mr. Rathbone.
- Monument to a young native Lawyer, for India.
- Monument to Lord Murray, for Scotland.
- Monument to Barry Cornwall.
- "Helen Faucit."

STATUETTES.

- "The Hon. Mrs. Stuart Wortley."
- "Mrs. Boustead."

THE "O'CONNELL MONUMENT."

Foley executed a great number of portrait busts, among them being those of Robert Dickinson; James Oliver; Mr. Prendergast; Mrs. Prendergast; Sir James Annesley; Rev. A. Reed, D.D.; Thomas Mason; Sir Charles Hulse; Lady Hulse; Rev. Richard Sheepshanks; John Sheepshanks; Major-General Forbes; G. B. Airy, Astronomer Royal; son of James Vaughan; John Purcell Fitzgerald; Samuel R. Healy; Brigadier-General Nicholson; Adrian Hope; Mr. Littledale; Sir Charles Barry; Brian W. Proctor (Barry Cornwall).

Irish Wool and Woollens.

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IRISH WOOL AND WOOLLENS.

I.

FOUR or five years ago, having occasion to open a history of Florence in search of some information relating to the trade guilds of that famous seat of liberty and commerce, I came upon an interesting account of the style of living prevalent among the citizens of Firenze la Bella, in the fourteenth century of our era. Their dress, their dwellings, their entertainments were minutely described; and the prices of sundry articles of daily consumption and various materials for clothing and house furnishing were likewise quoted. Among entries of manufactured goods imported by the merchants of the republic, my eye caught the words, "white Irish serge, five and fivepence farthing per ell."

Can it be possible, thought I, that any product of Irish industry found for itself a demand in the luxurious Italy of five hundred years ago?

Forthwith, I looked through all the books I could lay my hand on which seemed likely to furnish information concerning the manufacture and export of Irish serge in days gone by. Not finding what I sought in my calf-bound authorities that talk in type, I addressed myself to a walking encyclopædia of my acquaintance, a gentleman of prodigious memory, whose knowledge of Irish affairs—historical, antiquarian, political and domestic—seems altogether inexhaustible, and whose reservoir of archaic lore overflows in a torrent of living speech in answer to any demand made by an intelligent querist, be he adversary or ally. In a marvellously short time I obtained all the information I could have hoped for anent the woollen exports of mediæval Ireland, and furthermore became enriched with a miscellany of *viva voce* notes on Irish trade in general and the Italian poets of the age of Dante in particular; the illustrious Earl of Charlemont and the flocks and herds of ancient Erin; the patriots of '82, and the historians who *love and make a lie*; the mistakes and misdeeds of which this country has been the victim from

A.D. 1169 even to the hour when the query about Irish serge was propounded by the present writer.

However, the ascertained points most germane to the matter are the following, namely, that Fazio degli Uberti, a celebrated Italian poet, who towards the middle of the fourteenth century wrote a description, in *tersa rima*, of the countries he explored in the course of his travels through the world, relates in his poem entitled "Ditta Mundi," how, having seen England, he passed into Ireland: a country *worthy of renown*, as he says, *for the beautiful serges she sends us*; that, in the Dizionario della Crusca under the heading of "Saia" (serge), an example is given of the use of the term "saia d'Irlanda" from an old ledger, in which is charged "a piece of Irish serge to make a dress for Andrea's wife;" and that the patriotic Lord Charlemont having, during his lengthened sojourn in Italy, come across a copy of Fazio's extremely rare work, transcribed the interesting passage above alluded to, and subsequently brought it under the notice of the recently founded Royal Irish Academy, as a remarkable evidence of the extent of Irish commerce and the success of Irish manufactures at a remote period of our history.

From that day forward whenever, in the course of desultory rambles over the highways and byways of Irish history, I came on any reference to Irish wool or Irish cloth, forthwith I made a note thereon, without any more definite purpose, however, than to store up, against some possible eventuality in the future, facts which if not seized on the moment might elude research in the hour of need.

Only the other day, when inquiring for a certain statistical treatise in a library stocked with works on arts and manufactures, I learnt by chance that a reader, presumably a gentleman of the press, had just been asking whether some book on the Irish woollen trade could not there and then be laid before him, but had received for answer that no such work was procurable, although the collection numbered several volumes on the cognate subject of the linen trade. I could not but think that, although no special work on Irish woollens might be named by the aid of which an article could be got up in hot haste for a morning paper, there nevertheless exists, both in public and private libraries, ample material for an essay on that highly important subject, if one had only time and patience to run through histories, pamphlets, statute books, travels, and memoirs; set in order the gathered notes; and reduce the mass of information to a readable form.

The Irish wool trade has a history far from deficient in variety and incident. It was dealt with, in a fair spirit generally, by English legislation from an early period of the Anglo-Norman occupancy to the reign of William and Mary. But from 1699 to 1779 it was proscribed by statutes as inimical to social happiness and public morals, as was the penal code directed against the religion of the majority of the population. Possibly, the laws that annihilated the wool trade wrought more destruction than the legislation that aimed at stamping out the Catholic faith; for the trade Acts snatched bread from the mouth, filched hope from the heart, and wrenched power from the hands of the industrial sections of the community.

But though the trade was sentenced to destruction, the spirit evoked by the deed was not set at rest for generations. Irish wool assumed an importance seldom enjoyed by a staple of manufacture. First it was a party cry, fierce and minatory; and then it swelled to a national outcry which artillery could not silence. English parliaments were convulsed by it, and Irish parliaments were disgraced or immortalised according as they sacrificed or set free the wool. The question wove itself into the chequered web, one hundred years long, of Irish history. This it was that rallied the Volunteers. The air they marched to had words set to it with a refrain ringing of the wool; and Napper Tandy acted under the same inspiration when he suspended from the necks of the Volunteer guns labels inscribed with the words *Free Trade or Speedy Revolution*! If not dyed red as scarlet on ensanguined fields, the wool had at any rate a tinge of romance imparted to it by the adventures connected with its contraband transport to foreign countries, and its association with the flight of the Wild Geese and the escape of hunted priests under favour of the smuggler's sail. Popular songs kept alive the pathos and the pain of the story. In winter evenings beside the hearth, and on summer nights beneath the moon, the peasants sang to strains of native music, wild and plaintive, the lament of the hapless maiden ruthlessly robbed of the *Suisin Buidhe*,—the "Yellow Blanket"—which cloaked in allegory the legend of the ruined trade.* Literature, too had a thread of wool run through its pages. An essay of inconsiderable length,

* The air of *Suisin Buidhe* will be found in the valuable and enlarged edition of Bunting's "Ancient Music of Ireland," published in 1840. "Very old; author

but a masterpiece of the English tongue, thrown off in obedience to a generous impulse to retrieve the fortunes of the injured wool, received the distinction of being branded by a grand jury as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. A small volume dictated in a singularly calm and reasonable spirit, as would be thought in our days, but discoursing plainly of the wool, earned a yet severer penalty and was publicly burned by the hands of the common hangmen. And these pieces of "dangerous" and ill-treated literature were not the production of men undistinguished by their character, capacity, and position, but were the work respectively of Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, and William Molyneux, Member for the University of Dublin.

It is not my intention, I needly hardly observe, to endeavour to write an exhaustive paper on Irish wool and woollens, though I fancy I can discern the lines on which such an essay might run, and very much wish that some one would do the industrial cause so good a service. But as at this moment the subject of home products and manufactures occupies a good deal of attention, the wool as usual coming to the front, I think it just possible that Irishmen at such a juncture may not be unwilling to refresh their memory of past readings, and to lend me their attention while I run through some rough notes and open at marked passages a score or so of volumes lying conveniently at hand.

II.

In the day when Lord Charlemont wrote his paper on the antiquity of the woollen manufacture in Ireland,[†] it was thought a great deal to cite, in support of the thesis, records of the date of Edward III., bearing evidence to the high repute, at home and abroad, of Irish friezes, serges, and stuffs in that monarch's reign. Further inquiry led to the conclusion that woollen garments were in use among the natives many centuries before the English landed on these shores. Not, however, until our own day were proofs

and date unknown," is the note given in the margin by the compiler of the work. There are persons still living who remember in their childhood hearing the country people singing with extraordinary feeling the lament set to this sweet strain.

[†] Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (1787).

positive forthcoming of old Erin's possession of a home manufacture of cloths of great value and beauty, as well as of fabrics of coarser style. Within the last forty years the labours of our antiquaries, the publications of our archæological societies, and, above all, the deciphering of the ancient laws of Ireland, have revealed as existing in the past a state of things hitherto unimagined, and thrown a strong light on the social and domestic life of the primitive, but by no means barbarous, inhabitants of the land of the Gael.

References to the teasing, carding, combing, and other processes by which the wool was prepared, and to the spinning, weaving, napping, and dyeing of the cloth, occur in the Brehon Laws. The woollen manufacture in all its branches was carried on by the women of the tribes; and these laws lay down very precisely the divisions of the raw material and of the cloth in different stages of its manufacture which a woman should be entitled to take with her in case of separation from her husband, the proportions being adjusted evidently by an estimate of the amount of labour expended by the wife on the wool or on the fabric. Equally with the fleeces, the dye stuffs were of home growth, and great attention was devoted to the procuring of pure and beautiful colours, in a variety of shades. A fine blue was much admired, green was a favourite colour, and a plant, now unknown, was grown in ridges for dyeing cloth a "splendid crimson red." Party coloured, striped, and spotted cloths were also esteemed. Industry and art enabled the spinning and weaving women not only to keep up the stock of material required for the ordinary clothing of the tribe, but also to provide the splendid mantles in which the kings and chiefs figure so conspicuously in song and story. These mantles were considered princely presents, when offered by one great man to another; and the provincial kings, valuing them as so much treasure, took them in form of tribute from their subordinate chiefs. In fact, as an article of revenue, manufactured cloth appears to have ranked next to live stock. In the "Book of Rights," wherein "the revenues of the principalities and the laws of the rights of the provincial kingdoms and of the tributes and rents given to them and by them" are precisely stated, we find cloth and cattle set down together. Thus, the King of Cashel is entitled to receive from one of his tributaries 1,000 cloaks and 1,000 milch cows; while from others, together with

hogs or cattle, he exacts cloaks with white borders, or napped cloaks trimmed with purple, or mantles all variegated. Connaught is not behind hand in the quantity and quality of the cloth produced by her petty states. One tributary is taxed to the amount of thrice fifty superb cloaks, and others must find royal cloaks, or cloaks of strength, or speckled cloaks, or purple cloaks of fine brilliance. Dye stuffs were likewise taken in tribute. Ancient legends, poems, and lives of saints also abound in references to the manufacture and use of woollen garments in Ireland, and to the importance assigned to the princely mantle. For example, in the *Táin Bó Chuaighne*, an epic poem of considerable antiquity, a description occurs of the personal appearance and dress of the Ulster chiefs as they arrive with their hosts at the camp of Connor. A comely champion, with deep red yellow bushy hair, and sparkling blue laughing eyes, appears on the scene with a red and white cloak fluttering around him fastened at the breast with a golden brooch; while another warrior, dark visaged and black haired, proudly advances leading on his company and wearing a red shagg cloak with a silver fastening. A white-hooded cloak with a flashing red border, and many other varieties of the ample and splendid garment, are also described. Other ancient MSS. are also rich in word pictures of this kind. The ladies' flowing mantles are of course not left out of the tableau. For instance, the poet does not forget to record that the heroine of a story appeared in all the splendour of "a lustrous crimson cloak of dazzling sheen."*

For centuries succeeding the heroic period, Irish kings and warriors continued to display in court and camp these much-prized mantles. Sometimes, too, the splendid garments strewed the field when their owners lost a battle. Thus, it is recorded that among the spoils left by the sons of Brian Roe, when they fled from Mortogh, in 1313, were "shining scarlet cloaks." Military mantles of a style better suited to a rough campaign were adopted on occasions by soldiers equipped for hard service. Mr. Halliday, in a posthumous work,† notes from the Annals of Ireland

* O'Curry: "Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," (1873). "Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History:" by the same author (1861). The "Book of Rights," edited by Dr. O'Donovan, and published by the Celtic Society (1847).

† "The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin." Edited, with some Notice of the Author's life, by J. P. Prendergast (1882).

that in A.D. 938 a chosen army of 1,000 men marched from Aileach prepared for a winter campaign by sheep-skin mantles provided for them by Muirchedach, who thus gained the name of Muirchedach of the leather mantles.

While the upper ranks in Ireland prided themselves throughout the middle ages on the fine texture, rare fringes, costly trimmings, and elegant clasps of their mantles, and, moreover, indulged in a profusion of linen, the humbler classes of the population were habited in a garb almost entirely composed of woollen material, heavy or light in substance according to necessity. A thin stuff answered for shirting or vest; a thicker composed the tunic and the *trouse* or trousers; and of a heavy rug or frieze was fashioned the cloak, which was as indispensable an article of attire to the peasant as to the chief. The women had longer mantles than the men, and wore them over a kirtle or gown which reached to the ankle.* A short cloak or cape having a conical hood terminating in a tassel, was much worn by the men and went by the name of *Cochal*, hence the English *cowl*, almost universally used for a hooded cloak or cape. "In the 8th century," observes Dr. W. K. Sullivan in his introductory volume to O'Curry's "Manner's and Customs of the Ancient Irish," "the *Cochal*, in the latinised form of *Coceula* was considered in Wales and other countries as a characteristic of Irish dress, and the coarse long-napped woollen cloth of which it was made continued to be an important export of Ireland up to, at least, the middle of the 14th century." The learned author adds that the hooded cloak, until lately so common in this country, and still much worn by women in the South and West of Ireland, may be regarded as a modified descendant of the ancient *Cochal*, and that the frieze still corresponds to the description of the ancient material.

Not very long after the Anglo-Norman adventurers had made good their footing in the island, the governors of the Pale became alarmed at discovering in the new settlers a dangerous tendency to adopt the Irish style of dress. So objectionable did this fancy to appear in habit like the Irish seem to the maintainers of English rule, that active measures were taken to retain liege subjects in their proper apparel, and induce the native chiefs to favour foreign fashions. John, King of England and Lord of Ireland, who had had fair opportunities of becoming acquainted

* J. C. Walker: "Historical Essay on the Dress, Armour, and Weapons of the Irish" (1788).

with the state of affairs in the latter kingdom, adopted means, which it must be acknowledged were not unprincipely, of giving a desirable turn to the fashion of the day in clothes. Soon after he ascended the throne of his father, he addressed an order, as we read, to the Archbishop of Dublin, directing him to buy such a quantity of scarlets as he should judge sufficient to make robes (after the English mode it is conjectured) to be presented to the kings of Ireland, and others of the king's liege men natives of the kingdom.

Whether these personages wore with a good grace the "scarlets," cut after the pattern that seemed good to King John, history does not record; but there is abundant evidence to show that they transmitted no taste for novelty to their descendants, who stoutly adhered to ancestral and suspicious modes. "The barbaric splendour and quaintness of the Irish chiefs seems to have caught the fancy of the English settlers in the reign of Edward III., as we find the use of the Irish dress prohibited to them in the celebrated Statute of Kilkenny, passed during the administration of Edward's son, the Duke of Clarence. One clause in this Act ordains that the English in Ireland shall conform in garb and in the cut of their hair to the fashion of their countrymen in England: whosoever affected that of the Irish should be treated as an Irishman, which obviously meant ill-treated."*

This war of the Plantagenets was made not on Irish manufactures, be it noted, but on Irish tailoring. The red and white cloths of the country were on sale in England in the thirteenth century, and pieces of this description are enumerated as comprised in the effects of King John himself.† Amongst the different articles of dress stolen at Winchester, by Walter Bloweberme and Hamon le Stare, and which afterwards occasioned the celebrated duel between those gentlemen, about the close of this reign, was a tunic of Irish cloth.‡ Edward III., who did more to encourage trade in England than any of his predecessors on the throne, and who made Ireland an equal participator in the advantages offered by his protection, showed particular favour to Irish frieze, for a statute passed in the twenty-eighth year of his reign exempts it from duty under

* Planché: "Cyclopædia of Costume."

† Gilbert: "Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland" (English Rolls, A.D. 1172-1320). *Preface*.

‡ Quoted from "Rymer's Fœdera" by Lord Charlemont, and others.

the description of *Draps appelez frizeware queux sout fails en Ireland.*

However, even the Statute of Kilkenny, though renewed in every parliament till the year 1452, had little permanent effect in reforming the manners of the liege men of the Pale, who continued to find an irresistible attraction in the society of their neighbours across the border; and while delighting in the music, the sports, the story-telling by the hearth, and the pleasant freedom of the Irishry, shaped their beards, and arranged their hair, and cut their cloth after the fashion of the native Gael. Wrapped in their Irish mantles these degenerate English refused to change their garments of predilection or conform in such matters to the wishes of any king of England or any lord deputy of Ireland. An Act passed in the reign of Henry VI. asserts that now there is no diversity in array betwixt the English marchours and the Irish enemies (*Irreys enemis to nostre seigneur le roy*), and proceeds to correct this evil.

In the reign of Edward IV. another advance was made, and not only the English of the Pale but the Irish dwelling in certain counties were commanded to go appparelled like Englishmen.* And still it seems to have been all in vain, for in the reign of Henry VII. the very lords of Ireland were wont to attend Parliament in the vesture of Irishmen. An Act was then passed ordering these personages to appear in the same parliament robes as those of England, under the penalty of a hundred shillings—a round sum in those days to levy off a lord.

Galway, a great commercial port, and a staunch English town in the main, did, nevertheless, give cause for displeasure, inasmuch as that the clothes of its inhabitants were not found of a piece with their principles. In an Ordinance “gyvyn at our manor of Greenwich, the 28th day of April, in the 28th year of our reign” Henry VIII. (the first English prince, by the way, who assumed the style and title of King of Ireland) among other directions for the government

* “In order to counteract the efforts made by the English Government to destroy their ancient manners, the Irish exerted all their obstinacy to preserve them. They showed violent aversion to the politeness and refined manners of the Anglo-Normans; ‘making no account,’ says the historian, Froissart, ‘of any amusements and polite behaviour, nor wishing to acquire any knowledge of good breeding, but to remain in their pristine rudeness.’ This rudeness was but seeming: for the Irish knew how to live with foreigners, and to make themselves agreeable to them, especially if they were enemies of the English.”—Augustin Thierry: “History of the Conquest of England by the Normans.” Conclusion, section iv.

of the town of Galway, enjoined, "that no man nor man child do wear no mantles in the streets, but cloaks or gowns, coats, doublets, and hose shapen after the English fashion, but made of the country cloth or any other it may please them to buy."*

Other sumptuary regulations of the same reign had a more general application than the Ordinance issued by the king to his well-beloved lieges of Galway. In one of these Acts, it is enjoined that no loyal woman should wear any kirtle or coat tucked up or embroidered with silk, or laid with uske after the Irish fashion; and that none should wear mantle, coat, or hood, of the said pattern.†

Waterford, also a prosperous and loyal town in those days, does not appear, from anything that I know, to have given the Government serious trouble on the subject of costume, although the manufacture of woollen cloths flourished on the banks of the Suir. Stanihurst, whose account of Ireland is published in Hollinshed's "Chronicles," speaking of the Waterford men, says, "as they distill the best *aqua Vitæ*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland;" and he gives a curious instance of the value of this peculiar cloth in cold weather and its close resemblance to a bear skin. "A friend of mine," says the historian, "being of late demurant in London, and the weather by reason of a hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris Garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The mastiffs had no sooner espied him, but deeming he had been a beare, would fain have baited him; and were it not that the dogs were partly muzzled and partly chained, he doubted not that he should have been well tug'd in this Irish rug, whereupon he solemnly vowed never to see bear-baiting in any such weed."‡

This is not the last we hear of the Irish rug or the Irish mantle. Spenser devotes some space—to use a phrase not known to the author of the "Faerie Queen"—to a description of the obnoxious garment; and Shakespeare alludes in a very marked way to the rug and the kernes who wore it. In fact, the advance of learning brought into action another engine for attacking a style of dress disapproved of

* The king's Ordinance is given in Hardiman's "History of Galway."

† See reference to this Act in Dr. Sigerson's "History of the Land Tenures and Land Classes of Ireland." Chapter vi.

‡ Paris Garden, it will be remembered, was a place of public amusement in London, where the citizens enjoyed the barbarous pastime of bear-baiting. The passage from Stanihurst will be found in the work of Planché already quoted.

by the party that had the press on its side. The mantle was stigmatised; arguments in favour of its suppression were advanced; "the Iryshe men, our naturall enemyes," had an objectionable way of concealing things, weapons and the like, under their mantle, "fit cloak for a thief;" they had a custom of wrapping the folds hastily about the left arm when attacked, "which serves them instead of a target;"* in a foray they would draw the hood or the cloak itself over their head, making it do service as a helmet: hence the epithet "rug-headed" as applied to the Irish;† nay more, this barbarous head-gear was only a too effectual mask when the worst villainy was in hand: "hooded men" meant assassins.

The mantle was written down, in a word, and became more than ever an object of peculiar abhorrence to the English. To strip the chiefs of their handsome mantles and the people of their comfortable, water-tight, much-prized frieze cloaks would have been looked on as a good stroke of statesmanship and equal to a general disarmament of the common enemy.

But, though new means were adopted to bring the native costume into discredit, the old were not relinquished. It is amusing to read how Sir John Perrot, Queen Elizabeth's trusty Lord Deputy, took a leaf out of King John's book, and, having intimated that members habited in the Irish mantle and trouse should not be allowed to attend the parliament he convoked in 1586, he proceeded to use the gentler arts of persuasion, and "bestowed both gownes and cloakes of velvet and satten" on some of the country gentlemen. "And yet," adds the historian, "the Irish chiefs thought not themselves so richly, or, at least, so contentedly attired in their new costume as in their mantles and other country habits."‡

Strange, indeed, would it have been, under these circumstances, if the government of her Majesty's successor, "the Solomon of the age," did not devote some attention

* In the "Encyclopædia of Costume" it is observed that this is a common practice in Spain at the present day. When looking through Doré's "Spain" lately I was myself struck with the resemblance of the peasant's cloak, so frequently pictured in the book, to the Irish mantle, heavy, ample, and fringed as described in historians' and poets' views of Ireland.

† We must supplant those rough rug-headed kearns."—Richard II., act ii, scene i.

‡ See an interesting note, in which this bit of history is given and a description of the trouse appended, in Archdeacon O'Rorke's "History of Bullisadare." Chapter iii.

to the study of this philosophy of clothes. Anyhow, the importance of the question was not ignored. Reform was once more proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the island. "The circuits of the judges were not now confined within the narrow limits of the Pale, but extended through the whole kingdom, and the Lord Deputy Chichester, in 1615, directed that all sheriffs, justices of the peace, jurors, and other officers of justice, and freeholders, should attend all Sessions and Sitting Terms, wearing English attire and apparel, and that all who appeared at them in mantles, or robes, or wearing glibbs, should be punished by fine and imprisonment."*

Stranger still would it have been, considering all the force and sapience expended in the attempt to reduce the Irish to a "conformitie, concordance, and familiaritie in language, tongue, in manners, order, and apparel with them *that be civil people*," if some persons in high office had not been able to persuade themselves that good government had triumphed at last, and the dawn of civilisation appeared. Accordingly, we find Sir John Davis, of happy memory, rejoicing in the successful carrying out of the late enactments. "These civil assemblies at Assizes and Sessions," writes his Majesties Attorney Generall of Ireland, "have reclaymed the Irish from their wildness, caused them to cut off their glibs and long haire; to convert their mantles into cloaks; to conform themselves to the manner of *England* in all their behaviour and outward forms." Furthermore, Sir John was led on to "conceive an hope, that the next generation will, in tongue, and heart, and every way else, become *English*; so as there will be no difference or distinction, but the Irish Sea betwixt us."†

This interesting example of official complacency and the art of *propheysing to us pleasant things*, would furnish a choice heading to a chapter of the history of Ireland in the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, the women of Ireland continued spinning, and weaving, and dyeing the wool, and cutting the clothes of the nation according to the pattern

* See in Fitzgerald's "History of the county and city of Limerick," vol. i., a preliminary view of the progress of Civilisation, in which a great deal of Walker's information on Irish dress is confessedly embodied. The glibbes, so often mentioned with opprobrium, meant the Irish mode of wearing the hair in long locks hanging behind on the neck, and falling over the forehead in a manner resembling the "fringes" which ladies wear at the present day. In Ware's "Antiquities" those who are curious in the matter will find a woodcut representing an Irishman with the long glibbes and dependent mustache so fondly cherished by the natives.

† "A Discoverie of the State of Ireland" (1613).

handed down by their ancestors;* the men, and men children went on displaying, on every convenient occasion, a very decided and most "uncivil" preference for Irish versus English behaviour and costume; and the Fates, deaf to the thunders of royal ordinances, and the sweet persuasion of Elizabethan English, never ceased weaving the thread of Ireland's destiny into a fabric of quite another hue and texture from that contemplated in the prevision of the inspired law officer of "the wisest fool in Christendom."

III.

Returning to the point whence we took our departure, and diverging into another path, let us note what indications of a foreign trade in Irish wool, raw or manufactured, may chance to turn up. That Ireland, long before the Christian era, was the resort of the great trading communities of the then known world; that at the epoch of her conversion she had the advantage of well-established commercial relations with the neighbouring islands and the adjacent continent; and that for succeeding centuries she maintained a profitable communication with Britain, Gaul, and Spain, are matters of history, and form the subject of interesting pages in Moore's "History of Ireland," and in the work of Dr. W. K. Sullivan which I referred to in the first part of this article.

No trace, however, of an export of cloth in those remote days have I come on; nor is there any evidence, as far as I know, that at a later period the Danes, whether in their plundering expeditions through the island or their trading settlements on the sea-board made any store of the wools or the manufactured cloths of Ireland.

Authorities state as an established fact that Irish woollens were well known and highly valued, long before England developed her cloth manufacture and acquired a foreign trade in that commodity. This, of course, supposes an export of the Irish product, at a time, too, when Italy

* Sir William Petty, Surveyor-General of the kingdom of Ireland, speaking of the dress of the Irish peasantry in his day, says: "Their clothing is far better than that of the French peasants, or the poor of most other countries; which advantage they have from their wool, whereof twelve sheep furnish a competency to one of these families. Which wool and the cloth made of it doth cost these poor people no less than £50,000 *per ann.* for the dyeing it, a trade exercised by the women of the country."—"The Political Anatomy of Ireland" (1672).

and Flanders were at the head of the manufacturing industries of which wool is the staple. Certain it is that in the 13th and 14th centuries Ireland was much resorted to by trading companies from countries largely engaged in the wool trade. On the Dublin Guild merchant-rolls of that period we find registered representatives of almost every craft or trade from France, Brabant, and Flanders.* Flemish merchants trading to Waterford, Youghal, and Cork have left their mark in the records of the time.† Florentine and other Italian merchants and money-dealers carried on their operations in Dublin and the provincial towns. The Richardi of Lucca had agents at Ross, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Cork. A petition in French from these merchants, praying the viceroy to inquire into certain losses they had sustained in Ireland, and a writ by which Edward I. directs his representatives to inquire into the allegations put forward in the complaint of his beloved merchants of the company of the Richardi, may be seen in the second volume of "Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland." Mr. Gilbert, the editor of this splendid work, gives the facts relating to the trading transactions of the English mercantile houses in the letterpress accompanying the documents reproduced.

In those days, as from time immemorial, the great traffic of the country was carried on at fairs. Among the commodities bartered at these trading centres cloths of various kinds are mentioned. There is even evidence to show that the Irish mantle caught the fancy of continental visitors, and was considered worthy of being transported across the Alps in days when luxury in dress was carried to excess in Italy; for it is on record that the Pope's agent in England obtained a licence in 1382 for exporting certain articles custom-free, and that among these articles were five mantles of Irish cloth, one of them lined with green, and a russet garment lined with Irish cloth.

Such being the state of things, it is not so very surprising that Irish serges made their way to Florence. But that the high dames of the Republic held the foreign fabric in estimation, and that the author of "Ditta Mundi" considered it worth his while to visit the remote island which produced so admired a material, are striking proofs

* "Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland" (English Rolls, A.D. 1172-1320). Edited by J. T. Gilbert. *Preface.*

† Macpherson: "Annals of Commerce" (1805),

of the excellence of the manufacture. "If in the middle of the 14th century," to quote Lord Charlemont, "the serges of Ireland were eagerly sought after and worn with a preference by the polished Italians and particularly by the Florentines, it must have been for the excellence of their quality, for Machievelli, in his 'History of Florence,' says (1830) that the woollen manufacture had long been established at Florence. That year the corporation of woollen weavers was the greatest and most powerful in Florence, containing in it, and presiding over, many ancilliary trades, such as carders, dyers, etc." The work-shops of the wool trade in Florence, we learn from other authorities, amounted to 200, and there were besides 20 warehouses of the *Calimala* or trade in transalpine fabrics, which imported more than 10,000 pieces. The merchants of the *Calimala* ranked second among the *Arti*, or guilds, into which professions and trades were divided, that of the Doctors of Laws and notaries taking precedence, the bankers holding the third place, and the wool merchants with the dyers and dressers following. More than 30,000 souls were employed in the woollen manufacture, and it is said that at a single fair woollen goods to the amount of 12,000,000 crowns were sometimes sold. The merchants of Florence were not only rich and powerful, but held their heads very high. They were everywhere considered fit company for princes. None of the superior trades and few of the others were beneath a citizen's attention, even in the highest families. Their sons were early placed in shops or warehouses—first in Florence and then abroad. They travelled from country to country, becoming acquainted with the world and acquiring cultivation and experience of the most valuable kind. In point of fact every citizen, no matter what his rank, should enrol himself a member of one or another of the *Arti*.^{*} Dante's parents, it will be remembered, were of the guild of wool.

Who knows but that Fazio degli Uberti, noble though he was, may have known something otherwise than by

^{*} Napier: "Florentine History," vol. ii., (1846). Arthur Young: "Travels during the years 1787-88-89," second edition (1794). The last-named writer traces the excellence of the Florentine fabrics to the Friars Umiliate, who came to the city, in 1239, to improve the manufacture of woollen cloth. They made the finest cloths of the age. He says that he was assured, when at Florence, that an assessment of one shilling a week on the wages of the woollen manufacturers alone, built the Cathedral.

hearsay of the Saia d'Irlanda? Who knows but that he may have seen something of the world beyond the Alps even before he made the circuit commemorated in the "Ditta Mundi?"*

By a natural progression the woollen manufacture, as a great trade, extended to the northern countries of Europe. "Venice and the other Italian states," says a well-informed writer,† carried on the woollen manufacture when the rest of Europe remained ignorant and uncivilized; but when other countries that produced wool began to manufacture their own materials, the Italian manufactures declined. The Flemings first perceived their advantage for a commercial intercourse with the north of Europe; and though they were without wool of their own, yet, being nearer to the countries that produced it, particularly England, they were enabled to procure a raw material on cheaper terms, and in a short time to undersell their rivals, and to supersede them in the foreign market." England, in course of time, likewise awoke to a sense of her own advantages and interests. Her exports of raw material may

* Fazio was the grandson of Farinata degli Uberti, the renowned leader of the Ghibellines of Florence, and the conqueror of the Guefts at the battle of Monte Aperto. Readers of the "Divina Comedia" will remember the terrible and pathetic scene in Cato X., when Farinata "uprose erect with breast and front, e'en as if hell he had in great despite." Fazio, driven into banishment by the triumphant faction of the day, took the opportunity to travel abroad. On his return he wrote the "Ditta Mundi" an historical and geographical description of the world, probably in the year 1350. Having spent many years of his old age in Verona, he died in peace there, and there was buried. Tiraboschi, in his "Storia della Letteratura Italiana," *Tome V.*, having given a sketch of the poet's career, says in conclusion, that he was certainly one of the best poets of his time, especially in force and energy of style. Mr. Rossetti is of opinion that Fazio's canzone "portrait of his Lady Angiola of Verona," is a love song not perhaps surpassed by any poem of its class in existence, and he gives a translation of it in "Early Italian Poets." I have never seen the "Ditta Mundi." Quaritch's catalogues some time ago contained a fine MS. on vellum of the work, price £25; a copy of the first edition, likewise on vellum price £5; and one or two copies with some leaves stained, at a lower figure. However, the "Ditta Mundi" has disappeared from the latter issues of the catalogue. In the Quin collection, Trinity College Library, there is a splendidly bound copy of the first edition; but as far as the reading public are concerned, No. 70 in that collection of rare and beautiful volumes might as well be entombed with Fazio degli Uberti at Verona, for the donor made it a condition of the bequest that no one should be allowed to consult any work in the collection, except in the presence of the Librarian. One would perhaps think twice before undertaking a journey to Italy in search of a copy of an early edition of the "Ditta Mundi," but certainly one would think three times before asking the learned and urbane librarian of T. C. D. to stand by while a reader endeavoured to seize the meaning of what are described as almost unintelligible pages. An edition, "ridotto a buona lezione" was published at Milan in 1826.

† Preston: "Prize Essay on the Natural Advantages of Ireland, &c. &c." (1803).

have been considerable, but she was far behindhand in weaving wool, until Edward III. directed his energetic mind and strong will to the fostering and extending of a profitable trade. Taking advantage of discontents among the manufacturers of Flanders, he invited Flemish weavers to come and settle in England. Seventy families of Walloons crossed the sea, and established themselves in different towns, but principally in Norwich, where they were frequently visited by the king and his consort, their countrywoman, Philippa of Hainault. These expert manufacturers soon taught the English to work up their own wool into fine cloths. Edward conferred many privileges on the industrious and skilful strangers, and caused various ordinances to be made for the encouragement of the trade. It was enacted, that "no man nor woman, great nor small (except the king himself and a few privileged persons) shall wear no cloth other than is made in England, Ireland, Wales, or Scotland." The prices of cloth were fixed by edict, and the fabrics specified which should be worn by the various classes of the community. Moreover, the quality of the woollen shrouds people were to be buried in was prescribed. The king derived a large income from the duty paid on every sack of wool exported. This duty was collected at places or ports called staples, where "the king's staples" were said to be established, and to which all goods should be brought, for payment of the customs, before they could be sold or exported. A Statute of Staple was passed, appointing certain towns to be in future the staple for wools; the first chapter directing that, for Ireland, staples "shall be perpetually holden at Develin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda, and not elsewhere." By other ordinances, of the same reign, a staple or market for English wool (Irish, of course, being included) was established at Calais, Bruges, Brussels, Louvain, and Mechlin.*

About this time there turns up another remarkable testimony to the excellence of our Irish serges. The promoters of the woollen manufacture in the British Isles found reason to complain that in Spain the industrious and enterprising Catalonians were manufacturing serges, and supplying the fabric to the French as Irish. "The stuff called *sayes*, made in that country (Ireland), were in such

* Longman: "History of the Life and Times of Edward III.," vol. i. (1869).
"Annals of Commerce," vol. i. Smiles: "The Huguenots" (1867).

request, that they were imitated by the manufactuers of Catalonia, who were in the practice of making the finest woollen goods of every kind.*

In course of time the woollen manufactures of England acquired a high character, and were much in demand on the continent. In the Dutch market "English serges" were held in superior estimation. But the goods so classed were in reality, to a great extent, Irish; and the author of the prize essay on "the Natural Advantages of Ireland" shows how it was that our native manufacture, in this instance, lost its identity. The criterion of the buyer, he remarks, was a particular manner of folding and packing. Quantities of Irish serges used to be sent to England. They were then new folded and packed by the English factors, who received a per centage for their trouble, and finally were exported to the Dutch market, under the denomination of English serges.

However, the Irish did not by any means pass all their products through the neighbouring island. Their merchants had establishments at the Brabant marts, or fairs, and dealt in a great variety of commodities, among which wool and fells of hides are enumerated. Towards the end of the fifteenth century trade with foreign countries was greatly facilitated for Ireland as well as England, by the conclusion of a treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance between Henry VII. of England and the Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands. By the provisions of this treaty, liberty was allowed on both sides to trade to each others dominions without asking for licence or passport; and to carry all manner of merchandise, whether wool, leather, victuals, arms, horses, jewels, and other wares, either by land or water, from Calais, England, and Ireland to the countries of Brabant, Flanders, &c. That the flourishing city of Waterford carried on a direct trade in wool with Brabant, and enjoyed valuable privileges in connection with its wool exports, even before that treaty was concluded, is evident from an enquiry that took place in the same reign (referred to in Molyneux's "Case of Ireland"), regarding a Waterford vessel, carrying wool to Sluice (l'Ecluse, the port of Bruges), which was driven by stress of weather into Calais, and seized there by the governor. It was pleaded by the owners that the merchants

* "Annals of Commerce," vol. i.

of Waterford and their successors had a licence from the King of England to carry wool where they pleased.* Traces of an Irish trade with this part of Europe turn up at the date of Elizabeth's reign. Guicciardini, in his description of the Netherlands (quoted in the "Annals of Commerce"), says that Antwerp takes from Ireland skins and leather of diverse sorts, and some low-priced cloths.

IV.

The foregoing sketch, slight though it is, shows plainly enough that Irish weavers were not unskilled in remote days, and that the serges, friezes, and other stuffs they produced were of no mean value. And yet, some writers would lead careless readers to imagine that the inhabitants of Ireland knew little of arts or industry until the fortunate day when the province of Ulster was planted with English and Scottish farmers, traders, weavers, and labourers, in the reign of James I. Mr. Froude, for example, says that the new colonists "went over to earn a living by labour in a land which had produced little but banditti;" and that then, "for the first time, the natural wealth of Ireland began to reveal itself; commerce sprung up; . . . busy fingers were set at work on loom and spinning-wheel; fields

* Campion, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, describes Waterford and Dungarvan as full of traffic with England, France, and Spain, by means of their excellent good haven. A writer in the *Ulster Archaeological Journal*, (vol. vi.) gives an interesting sketch of the city, its extensive trade in days gone by, and the attractions it possessed for foreigners at all times. The writer, the Rev. T. Gimlette, among other remarks makes in substance the following: From the earliest times Waterford afforded a home and shelter to the foreigner. The Danes made it one of their first settlements. Norman knights established themselves there. Templars and Knights of St. John, on their return, from the Crusades settled in the city on the Suir, and Dominicans and Franciscans from France and Spain had convents and churches in the midst of the population. In the days of Henry VII. the Irish traffic with the south of France for Gascoigne wines was almost monopolised by Waterford, which became in succeeding reigns the great port of transit, not alone to England and Wales, but also to Flanders, Spain, and many parts of France. Continental traders in the middle of the 16th century discovered the peculiar advantages of a residence in the town, and settled there. Later on the Huguenots founded families which long maintained an honourable position in the land of their adoption.

It may be interesting to note that a city which in times nearer to our own sank to a low position as a trading port ("Busy as a Waterford merchant—doing nothing," was a common saying in the south, not so long ago), is every day rising in commercial importance. The quay has a busy character added to its native picturesqueness; and at Kilmacthomas, not many miles from the city, is the seat of a flourishing woollen manufactory, one of the few of which Ireland now can boast.

fenced and drained grew yellow with rolling corn, and the vast herds and flocks which had wandered at will on hill and valley were turned to profitable account." Assuredly, the author of "The English in Ireland" was wool-gathering himself when he discovered that the arts of spinning and weaving were a novelty to the aborigines of the island, and that the vast flocks of Erin had from time immemorial wandered up hill and down dale, idly consuming their own fleeces.

If such had been the case, what could be the meaning of a proposal seriously made in the very reign of the monarch who decreed the Plantation, to the effect that a restraint should be laid upon the wools and woolfels of Ireland, the exportation of which was calculated to interfere prejudicially with England's foreign trade?^{*} Commerce could not have been created and extended with such amazing celerity in a country inhabited by lawless men and useless animals, as to become already a danger to the state which had undertaken to civilize the dependent province. A trade which included exports to Spain and Portugal of hides, wool, yarn, rugs, blankets, and "sheep-skins with the wool," in the early years of King James's successor, was surely not a growth of yesterday's date. Again, fighting with windmills was hardly one of Strafford's foibles; and he, at any rate, when his turn came to do something for Ireland, would not have given himself so much trouble in planning the destruction of a trade which was only new-born.

Strafford's scheme for holding Ireland in subjection, and draining her resources for the benefit of a ruined exchequer and a faithless king, was at once bold in outline and comprehensive in detail. If, instead of legislating for a nation, the Lord Deputy had been maliciously bent on taking all the savour and sweetness and warmth out of the life of a colony of galley slaves, he could not have devised anything more likely to effect his purpose. He strove to secure for the government in Ireland a monopoly of salt and a monopoly of tobacco; he contemplated imposing a tax on bees; and he was determined to prevent the Irish from exporting their wool, or manufacturing it at home for their own use. "Wentworth resolved," says his biographer, "that all the

^{*} This was in 1622. Referring to the circumstance Smith, in his "Memoirs of Wool" (1747), makes the following remark: "Here, then, by the way, it may be noted that the exportation of wool from Ireland is a complaint of a more early date than is commonly observed."

wool manufactures of Ireland should be stopped, in order to compel her to purchase them from England. The Irish were not to be allowed to weave or spin their own wool, but this same wool was first to be taken to England, where it was to pay a heavy duty, and when turned into cloth, carried back to Ireland, where again a duty was to be imposed, thus absolutely doubling the customs."*

The writer of a recently published pamphlet,† which includes a good deal of information of a useful and seasonable kind, having referred in general terms to Strafford's system of legal spoliation, seems greatly to wonder how so grave a historian as Leland should impute to a statesman like Wentworth the design of restraining the Irish from indraping their own wool for the direct purpose of reducing the people to such a strait that they could not revolt from their allegiance to the Crown without nakedness to themselves and their families. Mr. Blackburne scouts the notion that Wentworth, who, "whatever his failings and prejudices may have been, was unquestionably a man of intellect and talent," should have originated the notion of "strengthening the connection between the two countries by the inability of the nation to revolt in consequence of their having no clothes." One can hardly read this part of the pamphlet without a smile. The pity is that two or three such pages did not fall in the way of the modern Clothes Philosopher, when that master of trenchant satire was engaged on his "Sartor Resartus."

Making excuses for Strafford in this matter of the wool is simply labour lost. His own words leave no doubt as to his intentions or the heartiness of his endeavour. "I am of opinion," he says, "that all wisdom advises to keep this kingdom as much subordinate and dependent upon England as possible, and holding them from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and then enforcing them to fetch their clothing from thence, and to take their salt from the king (being that which gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary?" Lord Strafford's biographer justly remarks that such a sentence as this would alone be sufficient to wipe out the memory of a thousand benefits, and wonders at "the

* Elizabeth Cooper: "The Life of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford" (1874), vol. i.

† Edward Blackburne: "Causes of the Decadence of the Industries of Ireland." (1881).

cold cruelty of binding in the fetters of contingent rags and famine the 'little sister' whose wealth was to enrich the 'more excellent' by means of her silver mines," &c., &c.

The scheme for compelling the Irish to take from the king alone the salt without which they must starve, since they depended so much on salted provisions for their subsistence, fell to the ground when it was discovered that the profit would be too small to compensate for the trouble of carrying it into execution. Nor did the earl wear his head long enough to mature the plan for making the Irish dependent on England for their clothing, and hindering them from continuing their exports of woollens which, he conceived, were likely to beat by their cheapness the English out of the trade.

As a set off against this base attack on Irish wool, I must note that during Strafford's administration in Ireland, the native fashions in beards and clothes were freed from the penalties imposed on them by former governments. In the session of 1634-5 an Act was passed in Dublin "for Repeal of divers statutes heretofore enacted in this kingdom of Ireland," and, as the preamble sets forth, to put an end to the distinction between subjects, since now the happy change of times allowed of such abolition. One of those acts which "shall be from henceforth utterly repealed and made voyde of none effect to all intents, constructions, and purposes," was that made in the 25th year of the reign of King Henry VI., whereby it was ordained "that he that will be taken for an Englishman shall not use a beard upon his upper lip alone," under penalty of being dealt with as an Irish enemy. Another of the repealed Acts was one passed in the fifth year of Edward IV., the plain meaning of which was that anyone arrested under suspicious circumstances "in the county Meath" might be killed offhand, unless he had in his company a "faithful man of good name or fame in English apparel."

Thus, after a conflict of more than four hundred years between Irish obstinacy and English statutes, the natives and their mantles remained in possession of the field.

A French gentleman who came here soon after the Irish war broke out, and wrote an account of his travels through the country describes the dress of "the Irish whom the English call savages." Their breeches," he says, "are a pantaloon of white frieze, which they call trowsers, and for mantles they have five or six yards of frieze drawn round the neck, the body, and over the head. The women, he

observes, wear a very large mantle, the cape being made of coarse woollen frieze, in the manner of the women of Lower Normandy. The traveller notes also that the Irish, who import wine and salt from France, sell there strong frieze cloths at good prices.* Massari, Dean of Fermo, who, as secretary, accompanied the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini on his embassy to Ireland, describes in his journal the dress of the Irish women. He remarks that the costume somewhat resembles the French mode. "All wear cloaks," he says, "with long fringes; they have also a hood sewn to the cloak, and they go abroad without any other covering for the head; some wearing a kerchief as the Greek women do." The Italian traveller does not fail to observe the sheep of the country, "from which fine wool is made."†

Another testimony to the estimation in which the Irish fleece was held in the 17th century is given in Drayton's allusion to the Leinster wool—

" Whose staple doth excel,
And seems to overmatch the golden Phrygian fell."

Already I have given Sir William's Petty's observations on the domestic manufacture of woollen cloths later in the same century; but, *à propos* of the people whom the English call savages," I cannot help calling to mind another sentence or two from the "Political Anatomy of Ireland." The writer says: the diet, housing, and clothing of the 16,000 families who are computed to have more than one chimney in their houses "is much the same as in England; nor is the French elegance unknown in many of them, nor the French and Latin tongues, the latter whereof is very frequent among the poorest Irish, and chiefly in Kerry, most remote from Dublin."

Before leaving too far behind the Earl of Strafford's era, a word about Irish linen and his services to that trade may be permitted. Unquestionably he did much to improve the cultivation of flax. He invited Flemish and French artisans to settle in Ireland and devote their better skill to the production of superior linens. Furthermore, he embarked £30,000 of his private fortune in the trade. But it is a mistake to speak of his having "introduced"

* "The Tour of the French Traveller, M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, in Ireland, A.D. 1644." Edited by T. Crofton Croker (1837).

† Rev. C. P. Meehan: "The Irish Hierarchy in the 17th Century." Fifth Edition (1877).

the manufacture among the Irish, and "set our women to spin," as we hear so often repeated. Linen was, in point of fact, an article of clothing in very early times in Ireland. Lenas, or vests of linen, were worn by the higher classes of the ancient population, and "kingly linen" is a term met with in old poems. Among the commodities on sale in the 13th century at town markets and fairs, linen is mentioned. "Linen cloth falding" is one of the articles enumerated as being imported into Chester from Ireland in the 15th century; and linen cloth was sold in the same period in the Irish establishment in the Brabant marts. Extravagance in the use of linen in their apparel was more than once the subject of complaint against the Irish, and furnished matter, too, for legislation. In 1539, an Act of Parliament limited the quantity for each shirt to seven yards. Somewhat later, Spenser described the thick-folded linen shirts of the native Irish.

Strafford and his interest in the linen manufacture may be dismissed in the words of Dr. Smiles, who says it was greatly to the credit of the earl that he should have endeavoured to improve the industry of Ireland by introducing the superior processes employed by the foreign artisans; and had he not attempted to turn the improved flax manufacture to his own advantage by erecting it into a personal monopoly, he might have been entitled to regard as a genuine benefactor of Ireland.*

Despite of heavy duties, and Strafford's ominous hostility, the woollen manufactures of Ireland continued to flourish. Considerable injury, however, was inflicted on the trade by the wasting of the stock throughout the country during the civil war and the Cromwellian devastations.†

Cattle and wool rose to a high price in England owing to the failure of the supplies from the neighbouring island. And yet, as if Ireland still possessed the glorious prerogative of youth, prosperity returned with the Resto-

* "The Huguenots."

† In "Whitelock's Memorials" (quoted in "Memoirs of Wool"), under the date of April 6th, 1652, appears the following summary of news from Ireland: "Letters of the Forces of the Parliament about Eniscorfy (Ireland), burning the corn, and every morning the houses they quartered in the night before; killed and took many Irish; that he was an idle soldier who had not a veal, lamb, poultry, or all for his supper."

The Civil War "almost annihilated every manufacture in Ireland, and that country, which had so abounded in cattle and provisions, was, after Cromwell's settlement of it, obliged to import provisions from Wales."—Lord Sheffield: "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland (1785).

ration, and the trading industries not only revived, but gave promise of advancing to a position of the highest importance. Energy and hope had a fair field for a few short years; and then, the cattle trade received a fatal blow, and the wool entered on a new chapter of its history.

V.

For a long time previous to this date, an extensive trade in the export of live cattle from Ireland to England had been carried on. Since the war had come to an end, these exports had greatly increased, and formed, in fact, a chief source of Irish wealth. On inquiry it was found that at this period there had been about 61,000 head of great cattle brought over annually from Ireland. Rents having fallen in England soon after the Restoration, the calamity was erroneously attributed to the importation of Irish stock; and the landowners demanded that British should be closed against the Irish cattle dealers. The House of Commons determined to carry a prohibitory Act in spite of the remonstrance of the Duke of Ormonde, Viceroy of Ireland; in opposition to the Upper House, in which the Lord Chancellor of England and the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) both spoke against the measure; and in open contempt of the king, who considered the proceedings impolitic for England as well as prejudicial and grievous to Ireland, and publicly declared that he could not give his assent to so unjust a thing. To such an extreme was the animosity of the country party in England carried, that when the Corporation of London petitioned Parliament to be allowed to accept a present of 20,000 (or as some say 30,000) live cattle subscribed by the Irish people for distribution among the sufferers by the fire of London, matters were so contrived in the House of Commons as to oblige the Corporation to consider it a more prudent course to decline the gift.*

The contest was not protracted. In 1663 an Act was passed absolutely prohibiting the importation from Ireland at all times of cattle (dead or alive), sheep or swine, beef, pork, or bacon, under pain of forfeiture of one-half to the use of the seizer or informer, the other half to the poor of the parish where the said should be found or seized. Three years later this Act was made perpetual, with a clause introduced against horses. To make the

* See the "Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts" (1881).

ruin complete, butter and cheese were added to the commodities that in future should not be exported from Ireland to the parent country.*

Ireland was thrown into consternation by this enactment. Deep distress ensued. The price of horses fell from thirty shillings to one shilling, and that of bees from fifty shillings to ten shillings. Despair overwhelmed the people; but the Duke of Ormonde threw off the incubus, making "no doubt but Ireland would by time, peace, and industry recover itself from the blow it now received from England." In the development of home industries he saw the best resource for such a crisis. He turned his attention to trade in general, and to the manufacture of woollens in especial. Not that the wool trade, any more than the cattle trade, had been left unmolested by jealous interference. It was clogged by vexatious disabilities. Wools could not be exported to England except by the particular licence of the Lord Lieutenant; and by a manœuvre which can only be described as despicable trickery, Ireland was deprived by the amended Navigation Act of 1663 of the colonial trade which she had previously enjoyed,† and which, in such a juncture as the present, might open up for woollens as well as for other commodities a profitable outlet.

Still, there were opportunities which might now be taken advantage of, and possibilities which might serve to animate and encourage all who had the interest of the

* Carte, in his great work, comments on this example of paternal government. "The English seem never to have understood," he says, "the art of governing their provinces, and have always treated them in such a manner, as either to put them under necessity or subject them to the temptation of casting off their Government whenever an opportunity offered. It was a series of this impolitic conduct which lost them Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, Guyenne, and all the dominions which they formerly had in France. . . . When Rochelle, Saintes, Engouleme, and other towns in those provinces, submitted to the kings of France, they took particular care to insert in their capitulations an express article, that in any circumstances or distress of the affairs of France, they should never be delivered back into the power of the English. It is not a little surprising that a thinking people, as the English are, should not grow wiser by any experience, and after losing such considerable territories abroad by their oppressive treatment of them, should go on to hazard the loss of Ireland, and endeavour the ruin of a colony of their own countrymen planted in that kingdom."—*Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*, vol. vi.

Carte, an Englishman and a Protestant minister, died in 1754. He could not have dreamed that the revolt of the American colonies would add another example of the misgovernment of the parent state.

† For an account of the way in which this act of legislative treachery was performed, see the speech of Lord North in the British House of Commons, Nov. 13, 1799. On that occasion the minister of the Crown exposed in clear terms "the commercial restrictions of which Ireland so justly complained." The speech will be found in Plowden's "Historical Review of the State of Ireland," vol. i. (1803).

country at heart. The king, anxious to compensate Ireland in some degree for the injustice and injury inflicted on her so much against his will by the ruin of her cattle trade, directed, by a letter dated the 23rd of March, 1667, that all restraints upon the exportation of commodities of the growth and manufacture of Ireland to foreign parts should be taken off, and this favour was notified by a proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant and Council.* Thus, though New England was barred, France, Spain, and Portugal were rendered more accessible. Again, if the Irish manufacturers could be taught to produce fine broadcloth as well as the friezes, stuffs, and serges for which they were already celebrated, English woollens might be entirely excluded. Sir William Petty, as we read in Carte, presented to the Duke of Ormonde a memorial for the encouragement of woollen fabrics, "chiefly recommending the setting up of manufactures of fine worsted stockings and Norwich stuffs in all parts of the nation for making the best advantage of their wool and employing their poor." The Council of Trade approved of this proposal, and the viceroy lent his aid, not merely by the bestowal of fair words, but by taking on himself both trouble and expense in carrying out the plan suggested. He established a woollen manufactory at Clonmel, the capital of his county palatine of Tipperary, bringing over 500 Walloon families from the neighbourhood of Canterbury to carry it on, and giving houses and land on long leases, with only an acknowledgment instead of rent from the undertakers. Also in Kilkenny and Carrick-on-Suir the duke established large colonies of those industrious foreigners, so well skilled in the preparation and weaving of wool.† About the same time a number of

* Hely Hutchinson : "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland, &c., &c." (1799).

† The first migration of Walloon weavers to England took place, as already stated, in the reign of Edward III. ; another settlement was made under favour of Elizabeth, who welcomed to her dominions the artisans of the Netherlands, driven out by the Duke of Alva's persecution, and granted her protection, at the same time, to the French Protestant refugees. The Walloons on this occasion settled in large numbers at Canterbury and other places, and employed themselves in manufacturing various kinds of cloth. A place of worship within Canterbury Cathedral was granted to them, and to the foreign refugees of all nations settled in the place. Numerous bodies of foreign artisans passed over into Ireland during the same reign, and settled in Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, Belfast, &c. Restrictions were imposed by Act of Parliament on the exportation of raw wool and woollen yarn from Ireland, to this end among others, "that artificers may, by the abundance of the commodities within the realm, be allured to come into the same to work them within this realm, and thereby to give example to others to use that trade to the great commodity and profit of the realm." Early in the reign of James I. other detachments of Flemings and French crossed over into Ireland and added new strength to the trade.

clothiers (master manufacturers) from the West of England, "finding their trade decaying, removed themselves and their families over into Ireland, invited by the cheapness of wool and of livelihood." Some of the English immigrants established a manufactory in Dublin, while others fixed themselves at Cork and Kinsale. In Limerick new vigour was infused into the trade by the arrival of a colony of sixty families from Holland; and the manufacturing population of Waterford was increased by the accession of some Frenchmen, who established a drugget factory in the city.

Capital being now freely invested and new markets found, rapid progress was made. The towns assumed a busy, thriving air. Even the face of the country was changed; for, in order to keep up the supply of wool, vast tracts of land were turned into sheep-walks. Naturally, the peasantry looked with anything but favour on this advance of trade at the expense of agriculture. They did not like being driven into the mountains, bogs, and woody parts to make way for the fleecy flocks. "I have myself," writes a contemporary, "very frequently heard them curse the English sheep with all the bitterness and rancour imaginable." Presently, when the war of the Revolution burst over Ireland, the evicted agriculturists took an insane revenge, killing hundreds of the sheep in the fields, driving off the flocks of the Protestant proprietors, slaughtering until they had consumed all, and, to quote the same authority, producing by their reckless proceedings so great a scarcity in the country that, if the Irish army had not been plentifully relieved from France, a great number must have perished of famine.

With the return of peace on the triumph of the Williamite cause, the wool growers and the manufacturers retrieved their losses with amazing rapidity. The security which a settled government seemed to promise animated the trading communities to renewed activity, and the losses which the country had sustained by the Cattle Bill were now fully made up. Although the woollen manufactures were almost exclusively in the hands of Protestant settlers, the general population benefited largely by the extension of trade. Catholic artisans, albeit excluded from trade privileges, had nevertheless their share of work in the inferior branches of the industry. Catholic wool growers followed their profitable avocations in the pastoral districts, finding in their old connection with France a ready outlet

for any surplus store which might remain after the home demand had been supplied. Catholic traders in the towns flourished with the rest. "So thriving and prosperous were the affairs of the Irish," says the authority above quoted, "that apprehensions were entertained that the estates of the Protestants would ultimately fall into their hands by purchase." In fact, some of the lands forfeited in the Revolution war had been actually purchased back by the Catholic traders whose rightful heritage they were. Even the peasantry felt that a good time had come and gave up "spoiling the Egyptians" in the barbarous fashion they had devised. The late war and the later peace had brought about a change in the state of affairs which opened up for the poorer classes an opportunity of bettering their condition. The Protestant properties, as Matthew O'Connor observes, had become much embarrassed by dispossession during the continuance of the contest, and the proprietors being unable to stock their lands after the peace, were under the necessity of leasing them to the peasantry at low rents, and for long terms of years. The peasantry thus acquired valuable interests, and became a rich, a sturdy, and independent yeomanry; even that miserable race known by the name of cottiers, the working slaves of the Irish gentry, were in a more thriving and prosperous condition in those days, than at any subsequent period. Most of them were in the possession of a cow, one or two goats, and six or seven sheep.*

Thus, a new era seemed to have dawned—an era of healthy activity and remunerative industry. Well nigh two hundred years have passed since then, and we who live in the distracted Ireland of to-day are left to conjecture how different the state of things might be if the Treaty of Limerick had never been violated; if "the ferocious Acts of Queen Anne" had never been promulgated; and if the wool trade had been suffered to develop into a great national industry.

VI.

It could hardly be supposed that the passion for monopoly which had its triumph in the Cattle Bill was laid to rest, once and for ever, by the consummation of that deed of iniquity. The jealousy of the country party in England may,

* "History of the Irish Catholics" (1813).

indeed, have been pacified by the ruin of the Irish cattle-feeders, but the national vice broke out before long in another direction. Apprehensions were now aroused in commercial circles by the success of the Irish woollen manufactures. Reason might have suggested that the prosperity of Ireland could not in the long run be an injury to England, and that even in the wool trade the two countries might work in fair emulation, command new markets for their improved fabrics, and together carry on a splendid rivalry with the manufacturing nations of the continent. Such wide views, however, were not entertained by more than one man in the million. Unreasoning selfishness carried the day. As early as 1673, Sir William Temple, at the request of the Earl of Essex, then Viceroy of Ireland, publicly proposed that the manufacture of woollens (except in the inferior branches) should be relinquished in Ireland, as tending to interfere prejudicially with the English trade. In all probability, the Irish manufacturers of broad cloths would gain on their English rivals; and the improvement of woollen fabrics in this kingdom, argued the statesman, "would give so great a damp to the trade of England, that it seems not fit to be encouraged here."

Sir William's suggestion was not immediately acted on, but it showed the way the wind blew in high quarters. By-and-by there were ominous mutterings of the storm in lower levels; and in response to popular clamour several Acts were passed, early in the reign of William and Mary, restricting the exportation of wool and woollens from Ireland. However, elated by the success they had already achieved, the Irish clothiers disregarded all penalties, found means to elude the vigilance of the authorities, and got off their wool and woollens in spite of Acts and prohibitions. This state of things could not continue long. Agitation in England became more violent. Petitions from the excited centres of British commerce showed Parliament what kind of legislation was expected from the representatives of the trading nation. Both houses addressed the king.

The lords represented that: "The growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessities of life, and the goodness of material for making all manner of cloth," having made the king's loyal subjects in England very apprehensive that the further growth of it would greatly prejudice the said manufacture here, and lessen the value of lands; they, the Lords, be-

sought his most sacred Majesty to be pleased "in the most public and effectual way that may be" to declare to all his subjects of Ireland, that "the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long been and will ever be, looked upon with great jealousy by all his subjects of the kingdom of England," &c. &c.

The Commons of England, in Parliament assembled: "Being very sensible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great measure, depend on the preservation of the woollen manufacture as much as possible entire to this realm," conceived that it became them, like their ancestors, to be jealous of the increase and establishment of it elsewhere, and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent it. "They cannot without trouble observe that Ireland should of late apply itself to the woollen manufacture to the great prejudice of the trade of England. . . . Parliament will be necessitated to interfere to prevent the mischief that threatens. . . . His Majesty's protection and favour in this matter is most humbly implored." &c. &c.

William III., of glorious, pious, and immortal memory, discovered no sign of having been visited with any disturbing sentiment of indignation or pity, such as moved even the "merrie monarch" in similar circumstances, though it is likely he may have winced under the ungenerous pressure put on him by the Lords and Commons, whose nominee he was. "The king replied briefly," says Mr. Froude, "that the wish of Parliament should be carried out, and Ireland was invited to apply the knife to her own throat. Two letters of William to the Lords Justices survive in Dublin Castle, embodying the words of the two Addresses, and recommending to the legislature the worst and most fatal of all the mistaken legislative experiments, to which a dependent country was ever subjected by the folly of its superiors."*

Animated by the imminence of the danger the Irish manufacturers made what remonstrance and resistance they could. Their cause was defended by an array of pamphlets, showing forth how destructive to the interests of the united kingdom, how disastrous to the Protestant cause, how criminal in every sense would be the destruction of the woollen trade, which was the main-stay of the English colony, the English garrison, the English religion,

* "The English in Ireland," vol. i.

the English dominion in Ireland! Appeals to the higher interests, the political integrity, the fanaticism of the parent country were urged in every mood and tense. According to these desperate champions of a cause which was every moment growing more hopeless, there would be no chance of saving Ireland from the grip of the Pope of Rome, or preserving the British Isles from the clutches of the king of France, if once Hibernian's wool were sacrificed. High over the heads of the forlorn hope towered one of the representatives in Parliament of the University of Dublin. He, William Molyneux, took up his position on loftier ground. Boldly attacking Poyning's Act, he impugned England's right to make laws for Ireland.* In his famous treatise "The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," he took care to say that he had not any concern in wool or the wool trade; and, in fact, he left the question altogether on one side. However, no one doubted that it was the wool in danger that prompted this supreme effort, nor did he himself deny that it was the interference of the English Parliament in the woollen manufacture of Ireland which led to the publication of the book. "This," said the author, writing to his friend, the philosopher Locke, "you will say is a nice subject, but I think I have treated it with that caution and submission that it cannot justly give offence; in so much that I scruple not to put my name to it, and by advice of some of my good friends here, have presumed to dedicate it to his majesty." Notwithstanding all his care, he could not be certain what effect it might possibly have; for "God only knows what resentments captious men may take on such occasions." "The Case of Ireland" created a sensation on both sides of the channel, excited the English Parliament to a higher pitch of animosity, and hastened the catastrophe. "On the 21st of May, a member of the House of Commons produced the obnoxious pamphlet, read portions of it to his indignant fellow-members, and obtained the appointment of a committee to report on its insolent defiance of the sovereign power of the English

* "The particular statute known as Poyning's Act was one which provided that henceforth no Parliament should be held in Ireland until the chief governor and council had first certified to the king, under the great seal, 'as well the causes and considerations, as the acts they designed to pass, and till the same should be approved by the king and council.' This Act virtually made the Irish parliament a nullity; and when, in after times, it came to effect, not merely the English Pale, for which it was originally framed, but the whole of Ireland when brought under English law, it was felt to be one of the most intolerable grievances under which this country suffered."—Haverty: "History of Ireland."

Parliament over Ireland*" Forthwith, the Parliament of England addressed the king, beseeching his majesty that the laws restraining the Parliament of Ireland should not be evaded, denouncing the "Case" as seditious and libellous, and praying the sovereign to discover and punish the offender. William did not concern himself to "discover" the member for Trinity College, but the book, by order of the English Parliament, was burnt by the common hangman.

Without delay the work of demolition then proceeded. After a bootless struggle on the part of a brave minority, the Irish Parliament gave effect to the king's recommendation to the Lords Justices "to avoid giving jealousy to England, by the further maintenance of the woollen manufacture in the kingdom," and imposed duties amounting to a prohibition on the exportation of Irish woollens. Immediately after, an English Act of Parliament (10th 11th of William III., ch. 10.), suppressed the manufacture *in toto*. Irish wool and woollens were not in future to be exported to any countries except England and Wales, from which places, as everyone knew, they were already virtually excluded by heavy duties. Evidence of the activity of the doomed trade is afforded in the long list of prohibited articles embodied in the statute. Wool, woollfells, worsted and woolflocks; woollen yarn, cloth, serge, bays, kerseys and says; friezes, druggets, cloth-serges, shalloons, and other drapery stuffs are enumerated. To prevent any possible infringement of the new ordinances, penalties of the severest kind are imposed on all who take any part in conveying the raw material or the manufactured articles out of the kingdom. Any such commodities found on board ship shall, according to the statute, be at once forfeited. The ship itself shall be forfeited. The master of the vessel, every sailor on board, every other person knowing of the transaction shall be fined £40 each. Ships suspected of being engaged in the prohibited commerce, and wool and woollen fabrics intended for foreign exportation, wherever met, wherever discovered, may be seized by any person whatsoever. And, for the more effectual carrying out of the law, it is enacted that two ships of the fifth rate, two ships of the sixth rate, and eight armed sloops shall constantly cruise on the shore of Ireland, particularly between the north of Ireland and Scotland, with power to enter

* Bourne : "The Life of John Locke," vol. ii. (1876).

and search any vessel, and if any Irish wool or woollens bound for foreign parts should be discovered on board, to seize ship, cargo, and crew.*

This sudden and merciless blow was followed by immediate consequences which all had foreseen ; but it also led to results which none could have predicted. The healthy industrial life of the population was at once paralysed. All feeling of security in the body politic vanished at this spectacle of the parent state devouring its own offspring. In Dublin and its suburbs 12,000 English families were reduced to beggary ; and 50,000 families of the same nation, as well as the settlers of continental origin scattered through the provinces, saw a like fate staring them in the face. Flight was the best resource, whether for settlers or natives, who were in a position to escape from the blighted land ; and an exodus of operatives, variously stated from 20,000 to 60,000, forthwith began, depopulating districts of the south and west, and inaugurating a migration from the north which continued to flow to America all through the eighteenth century. A number of the Protestant weavers went to Germany, and, being received with open arms, settled in states where their religion prevailed, and founded manufactories for the celebrated Saxon cloths. Many of the Catholic artisans removed to the north of Spain, and began there a manufactory highly prejudicial to England. Multitudes, both of Protestants and Catholics, were welcomed by the King of France, who had lately established woollen manufactories in Picardy and elsewhere. Louis settled the Irish refugees in Rouen and other industrial centres, securing the Protestants among them in the free exercise of their religion, and founding, with the aid of this army of trained artisans and the wool which speedily followed them from Ireland, a trade which England, from that day up to the present hour, has never ceased to suffer from. America was the refuge of the ruined Presbyterians of

* That other reaches of the island shore required as close watching as the Ulster seaboard became apparent after some time ; and in the reign of George I., " An Additional Act for the Encouragement of the Woollen Manufactures of this Kingdom by the more effectual preventing the unlawful exportations of the Woollen Manufactures of the Kingdom of Ireland to foreign parts," empowered the Admiralty to increase the effectiveness of the fleet of armed cruisers hanging about the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. Comprehensive as the above list of prohibited articles may seem to be, it did not embrace all the fabrics of the Irish woollen manufacture. Wadding, for instance, and one or two other articles excepted out of the 10th and 11th of William III. were afterwards specially prohibited in the reign of George II. For some time it was the custom to allow each sailor to take with him from Ireland woollen stuffs to the value of forty shillings, while each officer might take five pounds worth of cloth : but this privilege was subsequently withdrawn.

Ulster. They deported themselves in thousands, and founded settlements in the New World which they called after their old homes. There, in a new Derry, in another Donegal, in a transatlantic Coleraine and Tyrone, grew up a generation nurtured on memories of a cruel wrong—a generation of ready-made rebels, who flocked on the first signal to the standard of revolution, and became the backbone of the insurgent army.*

However, all could not depart. A dispirited, disorganised, pauperised mass remained, to rear an idle, turbulent progeny: the curse of the towns and cities of the old land. Aghast at the spectacle of desolation which met their gaze on every side, the Irish Parliament now addressed the throne with a view "to give a true state of our most deplorable condition," and solicit some redress. Their deliberations were but a wail over the decay of trade, the forced emigration, the extreme want and beggary to which poor tradesmen were reduced. But they had themselves prepared the way for the overthrow of the trade, and their Judas repentance was all too late. What was all this to Queen Anne?

If all documentary record of this sad time were lost, we still should have in Swift's inimitable pages the situation pictured for us of a country where "one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do." Says the dean in one of his sermons: "It is a very melancholy reflection that such a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things necessary, and most things convenient for life, sufficient for the support of four times the number of its inhabitants, should yet lie under the heaviest load of misery and want, our streets crowded with beggars, so many of our lower sorts of tradesmen, labourers, and artificers, not able to find clothes and food for their families." On another occasion he says, it is manifest that "whatever circumstances can possibly contribute to make a country poor and despicable, are all united with respect to Ireland." First among the causes of the general misery he places "the intolerable hardships we lie under in every branch of our trade, by which we are become hewers of wood and drawers of water to our rigorous neighbours." He dwells on the growing poverty of the nation, on the injustice of refusing a people the liberty, not only of trad-

* Dobbs: "Essay on the Trade and Improvements of Ireland" (1729). D'Arcy M'Gee: "History of the Irish Settlers in America" (1851), and other authorities.

ing with their own manufactures, but even their native commodities: "Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state; yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused to us, in the most momentous parts of commerce." Similarly, when considering the causes of a kingdom thriving, this practical patriot places in the foremost rank trade and industry, and a disposition to value and encourage home productions. The first cause, he says, of a kingdom thriving is "the fruitfulness of the soil, to produce the necessaries and conveniences of life, not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries." The second is, "The industry of the people in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture." And another is set down as, "A disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in cloths, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without."*

Sage advices, not a few, has the dean to give to the people in reference to their conduct in this season of calamity and distress. They should renounce all foreign dress and luxury: those detestable extravagancies of Flanders' lace, English cloths made of our own wool, &c. &c., which are not fit for people in such circumstances, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges. The women should be clad in the growth of their own country; should be satisfied with Irish stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats to themselves and daughters; and if they are not content to go in their own country shifts, may they go in rags; the clergy should wear habiliments of Irish drapery, and the weavers should contrive decent stuffs and silks for this demand at reasonable rates. The lawyers, the gentlemen of the University, the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions, should use the fabrics suitable to their wants which the native manufacturers produced. It were to be wished that the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the House of Commons, were declared by some unanimous and hearty votes against wearing any silk or woollen manufacture imported from abroad; every senator,

* Sermon iv. "Letter to the Earl of Peterborough." "A short View of the State of Ireland."

noble or plebeian, giving his honour that neither himself, nor any of his family would, in their dress or furniture of their houses, make use of anything except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence, and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependents, and friends, to follow their example. Anyhow, "let a firm resolution be taken, by male and female, never to appear with one single shred that comes from England; and let all the people say, *Amen*." As for the weavers and traders, they should improve the cloths and stuffs of the nation into all possible degrees of fineness and colours, and engage not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry, either as to the prices or the goodness.*

Anonymously, in 1720, Swift entered into the strife of Irish politics, armed with his famous tract, "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c., utterly rejecting and renouncing anything wearable that comes from England." To this day the production is read with delight as an example of the master's trenchant style. But the fierce satire of the literary composition is, in the apprehension of nineteenth century readers cast into the shade by the grim irony of the incidents which its publication gave rise to. When, as Swift himself afterwards related, a discourse was published endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the sovereign, and without the least party hint, it was termed *flying in the king's face*. The government considered the proposal as a sort of leze-majesty, and the printer, Waters, was seized and forced to give great bail. Nine times the jury who tried the case were put back, until they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a special verdict; the judge on the bench invoking God for his witness, when he asserted that the author's design was to bring in the Pretender! The cause, continues Swift, was so odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon the Duke of Grafton's, the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, His Grace, after mature advice, and permission from England, was pleased

* "Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures." "The Drapier's Letters." "Answer to Letters of Unknown Persons." "A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin concerning the Weavers." "A proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures."

to grant a *nolli prosequi*.* "In the midst of this prosecution about 1,500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week; and they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom."† About four years later the Lord Lieutenant and Council issued a proclamation offering three hundred pounds for the discovery of the author of the "Drapier's Letters." Harding, the printer of these obnoxious productions, was tried before the Chief Justice; but the jury would not find the bill, nor would any person discover the author. Again, when a London Journalist reprinted "A Short View of the State of Ireland," a lengthened prosecution of the printers was the consequence. Swift, referring to the vexations the printers had to undergo, takes occasion in his characteristic way, to show how dangerous it is for the best-meaning person to write one syllable in defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in. So much is this the case, continues he, that, "although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company, for fear of being thought disaffected."

By no means was it all talk with the Dean of St. Patrick's. He expended both time and money in visiting and assisting distressed artisans without any distinction of creed. Five hundred pounds a year it was his wont to lend out in small portions without interest to necessitous but honest and diligent tradesmen; and at one time he had the gratification of believing that he had recovered two hundred families in the city from ruin. Frugality for the sake of others he knew how to practise. He would often walk rather than ride, and then would say he had earned a shilling or eighteen pence, which he had a right to do what he pleased with, and could expend on his favourite charities. The weavers considered him their special patron and legislator, and frequently came in a body to receive his advice in settling the rates of their stuffs and the wages of their journeymen. In every sense they were his neighbours; for the industrial population of Dublin were massed round St. Patrick's Cathedral, and still inhabited the Coombe, Spitalfields, Weavers' Square, New-street, and other localities which had been flourishing centres before the suppression of the woollen trade. A notable part of

* Letter from Swift to Pope. "Drapier's Letters."

† "Proposal that the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures."

the population were of Huguenot origin, and places of worship, with a French service, had been provided for them. One of these was in Peter-street, and another was under the roof of St. Patrick's, the ancient Lady Chapel of the Cathedral being, in fact, at that time and for long after, the French church of the locality. It was Swift's habit to attend afternoon service here every Sunday.* Stella, who "loved Ireland much better than the generality of those who owe both their birth and riches to it, and detested the tyranny and injustice of England in the treatment of this kingdom," also showed a good example of liberality and judgment in disbursing charity, and of simplicity in her habits and attire. The same pen that so well knew how to lash and scathe has traced with tender care such little traits of one who "with all the softness of temper that became a lady, had yet the personal courage of a hero," as that she "bought cloaths as seldom as possible, and those as plain and cheap as consisted with the situation she was in, and wore no lace for many years."

Swift's description of the condition of the people brings us on to about thirty years from the date of the suppression of the woollen trade. Another term of thirty years passes by, and it appears that things have not much improved in the interval. Primate Stone, in 1758, describes the people as not either regularly lodged, clothed, or fed: adding that, "these things, which in England are called necessities of life are to us only accidents, and we can, and in many places do, subsist without them."

Again, proceeding down the stream of time some twenty years further, we come on Hely Hutchinson's declaration that "the present state of Ireland teems with every circumstance of national poverty;" and find the discouragement of the woollen manufactories by the English act of 1699, referred to as the principal cause of the distress and poverty of the land. "A country will sooner recover," says this writer, "from the miseries and devastations occasioned by war, invasion, rebellion, and massacre, than from laws restraining the commerce, discouraging the manufactures, fettering the industry, and, above all, breaking the spirit of the people."† The situation is summarised by the author of a prize essay already quoted, who observes that "the history of no fruitful country, enjoying peace, and not

* Life of Swift, in the edition of his works, published by Faulkner.

† "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland" (1779).

visited by pestilence and famine, during eighty years, can produce so many instances of wretchedness as appear in Ireland during a period of that length, which succeeded the proscription of her woollen trade."

Meanwhile, it was not enough to inflict a fatal injury on a nation's industry, but the ill-used people must likewise be defamed. With writers of a certain class it became a habit to attack the Irish for being slothful, lazy, idle, and indolent; for their thievish, lying, slavish disposition; for their dirt, their disorder, and their mendicancy. The causes of their misfortunes were conveniently ignored, and poverty was attributed to them as a chosen and cherished vice. Other traducers, by a bold stroke, traced idleness, beggary, and the rest, to the religion of the bulk of the people. Lord Sheffield's rejoinder to the accusation of idleness hits the mark in a few short words: "The Irish people are not naturally lazy; they are, on the contrary, of an active nature, capable of the greatest exertions, and of as good a disposition as any nation in the same state of improvement; but that men who have very little to do, should appear to do little, is not strange."* Bishop Berkeley seems to have been ignorant of the fundamental cause of the Irishman's sloth and backward condition. But he was too right-minded a man to be misled into supposing that the Catholic religion was accountable for the evils complained of. "Many suspect your religion," says his lordship, addressing the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, "to be the cause of that notorious idleness which prevails so generally among the natives of this island, as if the Roman Catholic faith was inconsistent with an honest diligence in a man's calling. But whoever considers the great spirit of industry that reigns in Flanders and France, and even beyond the Alps, must acknowledge this to be a groundless suspicion. In Piedmont and Genoa, in the Milanese and the Venetian State, and indeed throughout all Lombardy, how well is the soil cultivated, and what manufactures of silk, velvet, paper, and other commodities flourish? The King of Sardinia will suffer no idle hands in his territories, no beggar to live by the sweat of another's brow; it has even been made penal at Turin to relieve a strolling beggar. To which I might add, that the person whose authority will be of the greatest weight with you,

* "Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and present state of Ireland" (1785).

even the Pope himself, is at this day endeavouring to put new life into the trade and manufactures of his country. Though I am in no secret of the Court of Rome, yet I will venture to affirm that neither Pope nor cardinals will be pleased to hear that those of their communion are distinguished above all others by sloth, dirt, and beggary; or be displeased at your endeavouring to rescue them from the reproach of such an infamous distinction.”*

VII.

Retribution, in the meantime, was fast overtaking the traders who had been envious of their neighbour's good. They perceived, before long, that the result of their greed was to “starve a friend and glut a foe.” Out of the ruins of the Irish trade rose, as already intimated, the great woollen manufactures of France, which, establishing a formidable rivalry with England's staple of commerce soon beat the island factors out of the principal foreign markets, ultimately commanded a sale even on British ground, and now are actually threatening the very existence of the west of England trade in some of its important branches. The origin of the French woollen trade may be told in a few words.

Colbert, Louis XIV.'s Minister of Finance, devoted very serious attention, from 1661 to 1683, to the task of developing the industrial activity of the French nation. In his youth he had served his apprenticeship to a woollen-draper, and the encouragement of cloth manufactures became a special pursuit when he found himself in a position to carry out his plans. The king aided his minister right royally, and, under the patronage of the State, the trade progressed. At this juncture Ireland, by increased wool production, was trying to make up the loss she had sustained through the stoppage of her cattle exports to England. Wool was wanted by France, and the Irish wool-growers, especially the Catholics, who knew the Continent much better than they knew the neighbouring island, took advantage of the opening thus presented, and landed their wool-packs in the French ports. Probably, however, the continental clothiers had but an imperfect appreciation of Ireland's resources in this particular until the soldiers of their nation coming over to fight for James II., in the revolutionary war, beheld the vast pastoral plains of the island, saw the peasantry destroying the sheep that had usurped the place of the agriculturist on the soil, and learned how inexhaustible

* “A Word to the Wise” (1752).

must be the wool supply of such a land. Wiser than their Irish allies, the French gathered up the fleeces of the slaughtered sheep, collected an immense quantity of woollen yarn, and on their departure from Ireland carried off so much material as sufficed, in the parlance of that age, to put their manufacturers upon a clothing trade for Turkey. Quickly on this followed the flight of the Irish weavers, and their settlement in the manufacturing towns of northern France. About the same time, on the disbanding of the army, after the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick, a number of soldiers, who had been originally weavers, returned to their trade. These men were instructed according to improved methods, and, together with the Irish contingent, notably increased the strength of the industrial forces. Irish wool now became an absolute necessity for the French manufactures, one pack of that staple being required to work up every two packs of the material elsewhere procured. France was determined to obtain wool from Ireland, and Ireland was equally resolved that France should be supplied. Despite of armed cruisers, despite of revenue officers, in the teeth of penalties and prohibitions, four-fifths of the Irish fleeces were carried annually to France.

This clandestine export was effected in various ways, according to circumstances. During the first years a great quantity of raw wool was transported to the coasts of Clare and Galway, and shipped in the French vessels which came to take off the recruits for the Irish Brigades. It is said that this intimate association of "Wild Geese" and wool had its origin in the fact that Captain Teigue M'Namara, an officer in the Irish Brigade, a native of Clare, and possessor of a large property in that county, took advantage of the opportunity he enjoyed as conductor of the recruiting expeditions to smuggle wool into the French ports, thus serving "the foes of Ireland's foe" in a twofold way, and benefitting the home interests not a little.* Later on, the shores of Kerry and west Cork became the scene of wool smuggling, conducted with the aid of privateers and fishing fleets. There were times when the smugglers' audacity knew no restraint, and the wool was carried openly to Cork city, and shipped in sight of the soldiers, who were sent to prevent the transaction.†

* See a paper by the Very Rev. Dean Kenny, entitled, "History of Drunkenness in Ireland," which appeared in the *Illustrated Monitor*, when that now extinct publication was conducted by the late Father Robert Kelly, S.J.

† See "Tour through Ireland of two English gentlemen" (1746).

Early, however, in the traffic a less clumsy method of transporting the material was devised and adapted in some of the principal ports. The wool was combed, screwed into butter firkins or beef barrels, covered with a layer of meat or grease, and, judiciously weighted with shot, passed through the custom-house as provisions. Quite early in the century merchants of Waterford, Wexford, and Youghal brought their ships into Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, and Bordeaux, and made their sales in the open market to the amazement of any English traders, travellers, or prisoners of war who might happen to be on the spot. So great was the demand for wool in France that, at certain times, the Irish merchants found it worth their while to take their cargo of raw wool into the English ports, and sell it there, notwithstanding the heavy duties, to factors who conveyed it to Kent and Sussex, whence the Owlars of those parts smuggled it, together with fine English wool, to the opposite shores.*

Thus, fed by English Owlars and Irish smugglers the French factories worked at high pressure. Abbeville, Amiens, Beauvais, became centres of the cloth trade, and Rouen gloried in possessing the first woollen manufactory in the world. In less than thirty years from the day when the French soldiers carried home their load of Irish fleeces, and the ruined weavers of the island sought refuge in the dominions of Louis the Great, the woollen manufactures of France were brought to such perfection that the English clothiers could not discover any difference between the foreign fabrics and their own fine cloths. The French had not only ceased to take English woollen goods, but had supplanted the once dominant traders in the most important foreign markets. They had engrossed the Turkey trade which England once enjoyed, and were supplying Italy, Spain, Portugal, and even Barbary with says, serges, druggets, and other stuffs, which formerly had been classed as English.†

It may not be improper to mention here that three im-

* In the appendix to Smiles' "Huguenots" there is an interesting account of the Owlars of Romney Marsh, and of the way in which the woolmen managed their business. Dr. Johnson thinks that the word Owlar, applied to one who carries out wool illicitly, may perhaps come from the necessity of carrying on a clandestine trade by night; but he rather believes that it is a corruption of *wooller*, by a colloquial neglect of the *w*, such as is often observed in *woman* and other words. *Wooller, oolers, owlars*.

† Prior: "Observations on the Trade of Ireland." Second Edition (1729). "Memoirs of Wool," vol. ii.

portant discoveries (but all, alas! too late) were made in the course of the last century by English traders and politicians.

First, it was discovered that a serious mistake had been made in interfering with the Irish cattle trade: "Concerning these laws for prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, many people think them in general to be hurtful; and that it would be wiser to suffer the Irish to be employed in breeding and fattening their black cattle for us, than to turn their lands into sheep-walks as at present; in consequence of which they are enabled, in spite of all our laws to the contrary, to supply foreign nations with their wools to our great detriment."*

Secondly, it was discovered that it would have been better for the British Empire if the Irish had been allowed an open trade in their wool. "Experience has taught us," says a writer in the *Daily Post* (1740), "that the more the Irish are cramped in that article (the wool trade) the more it redounds to the advantage of the French, our most formidable and inveterate enemies. By the folly, not to say the injustice of England, France has rivalled us this many years with a witness, in the Spanish, Portugal, Italian, and Levant trades, besides the great vent she finds for woollen goods in the Austrian Netherlands and some parts of Germany: this prodigious increase of trade has raised her to such a pitch of grandeur that she is become more terrible than ever to her neighbours." The same writer goes on to ask whether it would not be more eligible "to let the Irish share with us in the woollen trade, nay, to throw even all our trade into their hands, than to raise up France upon the ruins of the whole British empire?"

Thirdly, it was discovered, and in the British Parliament acknowledged, that truer statesmanship it would have been to leave all the "Papists" in possession of their estates in Ireland than to force them by penal statutes to emigrate to America, where they or their sons were at that very time fighting with the desperation of injured men in the rebel ranks.

Naturally, a question arises as to how it was that the strength of England was not adequately exerted in putting a stop to the transmission of the supplies from Ireland which kept the French factories working at a rate so injurious to rival establishments. The answer is that British

* "Annals of Commerce," vol. ii.

strength was, indeed, put forth, but could effect little against a nation obstinately bent on resistance and evasion. A code of laws and a fleet of cruisers gained little in a contest with "a nation of smugglers." "When Ireland was restrained from exporting her woollen manufactures," writes Sir James Caldwell, "the exportation of raw wool became the business, not of the few, but of many: it was no man's interest merely as a native of Ireland to prevent it; it was, therefore, not only connived at but encouraged; and those who did not unlawfully export raw wool for a pecuniary advantage to themselves, were well pleased to see it done by others, from a principle of resentment and indignation against those who had subjected them to, what they could not but consider as a cruel and oppressive law, which had not only impoverished many individuals whose wealth was a common benefit, but cut off bread from the mouths of innumerable industrious poor, and, consequently, produced national impotence and poverty." And, adds Sir James, it is both cruel and vain "to expect that the people of Ireland will not smuggle wool, because it is forbidden by those who have already forbidden them to eat."*

Substantially similar is the view taken of the smuggling question by the author of "The English in Ireland." As this lively writer brings the picturesque side of the situation into higher relief than than does Sir James Caldwell, I take leave to brighten these pages by introducing a sketch from the work just named. "The entire nation, high and low," says Mr. Froude, "was enlisted in an organised confederacy against the law. Distinctions of creed were obliterated, and resistance to law became a bond of union between Catholic and Protestant—Irish Celt and English colonist—from the great landlord whose sheep roamed in thousands over the Cork mountains to the gauger who, with conveniently blinded eyes, passed the wool-packs through the custom-house as butter-barrels; from the magistrate whose cellars were filled with claret on the return voyage of the smuggling craft, to the judge on the bench who dismissed as frivolous and vexatious the various cases which came before the court to be tried. All persons of all ranks in Ireland were principals or accomplices in a pursuit which made it a school of anarchy; and good servants of the State, who believed that laws were

* "An Enquiry concerning the Restrictions laid on the Trade of Ireland" (1766).

made to be obeyed, lay under the ban of opinion as public enemies. . . . Government tried stricter methods, substituted English for Irish officers at the chief ports like Waterford and Cork, and stationed cruisers along the coast to seal the mouths of the smaller harbours. But the trade only took refuge in bays and creeks where cruisers dared not run in. If encountered at sea, the contraband vessels were sometimes armed so heavily that the Government cutters and schooners hesitated to meddle with them. If unarmed and overhauled, they were found apparently laden with some innocent cargo of salt provisions. . . . Driven from Cork warehouses the packs were stored in caves about the islands, and cliffs, and crags, where small vessels took them off at leisure; or French traders, on signal from shore, sent in their boats for them. Chests of bullion were kept by the merchants at Rochelle and Brest to pay for them as they were landed. When the French Government forbade the export of so much specie, claret, brandy, and silks were shipped for Ireland in exchange on board the vessels which had brought the wool."

For some of the above particulars Mr. Froude is indebted, as he acknowledges, to a manuscript preserved in Dublin Castle, bearing the date of 1730. The price of fleece wool in Ireland at that time, according to the same document, was fivepence a pound; of combed wool, one shilling. In France Irish fleece wool sold for two-and-sixpence a pound; combed wool, from four-and-sixpence to six shillings.

It is not easy to understand why the French, who were ready to give such a high price for Irish wool, did not turn their attention to the flocks of their own country. Arthur Young described their sheep as wretchedly cared; fed, or rather starved, on straw during the winter; and lying on dunghills, so filthy was their stabling. The fleeces were poor, and of a bad quality, and three sheep were kept where there might have been a hundred. France spends, says this observant traveller, 27,000,000 livres a year on importing wool, every pound of which might be produced in the country. Of course it was all the better for poor Ireland that France was so negligent in this particular; for, says Swift, "Our beneficial traffic of wool with France hath been our only support for several years past, furnishing us all the little money we have to pay our rents and go to market."

VIII.

If, in the interval between the Restoration and the Revolution, the conversion of Ireland into a vast sheep-walk was condemned as discouraging agriculture and forcing human beings to give place to wool-producing flocks, with much more reason was the aggravation of that system during the greater part of the eighteenth century regarded as a grievous injury to the country at large. Unquestionably, the peasantry suffered in the earlier period; but, then, there was some compensation to the general community in the lucrative employment of a large body of artisans engaged in working up the wool into cloths and stuffs for foreign markets. In the later and longer period, though camblets and other woollen fabrics were clandestinely carried to Spain and Portugal, and serges were smuggled into Scotland, and the people for the most part "sheared their own wool and wore it," nevertheless no manufacture was carried on at all commensurate with the enormous production of raw material. In point of fact there was no adequate industrial compensation for the neglect of husbandry and the low status of the agricultural classes.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the "pernicious sheep-walks" formed the main feature, after the bogs, of the Irish landscape. The counties of Tipperary, Limerick, and Carlow were mainly given up to wool growing. The baronies of Corra and Terrera in Sligo, and a great part of Roscommon, particularly that part between Athlone and Boyle (30 miles long and 10 miles broad), were continued sheep-walks. There were flock-masters in Connaught who had 20,000 sheep on their farms. Patches of corn and potatoes appeared like a trimming on the skirts of the pastoral plains, and amidst these patches grovelled the wretchedly-housed peasants. Arthur Young, who notes these particulars, observes that at the period of his tour (1776-78), the population had greatly increased, and was sensibly encroaching on the grazing lands. Still, the sheep farms were seldom under 400 or 500 acres, and rose to 3,000: about 6,000 or 7,000 being then the greatest flock kept by one owner.

Among the four provinces, Connaught kept the pre-eminence in wool growing. The greatest quantity was produced in that western region, the quality of the fleece

being also superlatively good. A wool fair was annually held at Ballinasloe, in the month of July, and lasted for several weeks. On these occasions sales to the amount of £200,000 were frequently effected.* It does not appear that time was reckoned as a very valuable commodity by the Connaught flock masters and their customers, for at this fair they were wont to spend a great amount of it in bargaining. A later writer than Young says that an improved method of transacting business had recently been adopted by the Cork and Limerick buyers, who went to the growers' houses, made such bargains as they could, and paid in bills at various dates. Still the July fair held its ground, and was conducted in accordance with traditional modes. "It is," continues the author referred to, "perfectly ridiculous to see sensible men walking about the streets of Ballinasloe, the buyers on one side and the sellers on the other, for often six weeks and more. This had been carried so far sometimes that the buyers have made parties to take a tour to Killarney or elsewhere for a fortnight or more, thinking to tire the sellers into a bargain."†

Most of the Connaught wool was conveyed to Munster. Five hundred cars laden with wool might be seen at a time on the road to Cork city, and in the county of Cork half the wool of Ireland was combed. Clothiers established at Charleville, Donnerail, Mitchelstown, Kanturk, Newmarket, and other places bought up wool, got it combed in their own houses, gave it out to be spun by the peasantry, and then sold it to the weavers, or disposed of it to the French agents. All over the south weavers were at work, some living in cabins about the country, and others inhabiting cottages with small gardens in the towns.

Everywhere throughout Ireland, except, perhaps, in some parts of Ulster, the people prepared the raw material and made their own clothing. In every cottage there was a spinning-wheel, and at the door in fine weather, sat mother or daughter spinning and singing the while—for music, which in those days was generally an enlivener of most domestic and out-of-door avocations, was invariably an accompaniment to wool spinning. Dr. Petrie, and other collectors of our national melodies, have preserved many of these spinning tunes. It was an understood thing that while the men supported the family by their

* "Tour in Ireland," vol. ii.

† Dutton: "Survey of Clare" (1808).

labour in the fields, the women who in those days never engaged in agricultural work, paid the rent by the profits of the distaff. Wakefield remarks, that the people display great ingenuity in the manufacture of their cloth and stuffs. "Instead of using oil in the weaving, as is the case in all woollen manufactures, they extract in the summer time the juice of the fern root, which they find to answer the purpose; and for dyeing they employ the indigenous vegetable productions of the country, such as twigs of the alder, walnut and oak leaves, elder berries, &c."* By all accounts, an excessive quantity of wool, far more than skilful artisans would approve, was used in the domestic manufacture of friezes, linseys, stockings, and petticoat stuffs. "The amount of the consumption of woollens in Ireland," says Lord Sheffield, "we cannot know, but it is very great, and perhaps no country whatever, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, consumes so much. The lower orders are covered with the clumsiest woollen drapery, and although the material may not be fine, there is abundance of it. Besides coat and waistcoat, the lower classes wear a great coat both summer and winter, if it can possibly be got. Not only their clothing but their stockings seem to contain a double quantity of wool." The women, also, he observes, wear the clumsiest woollens; their petticoats and their cloak, when they have one, containing much wool. Whatever cloth and stuff remained after the farmer's household was supplied found a sale at the different fairs. At Rathdrum, in the county of Wicklow, a flannel fair was held on the first Monday of every month, and the frieze fair of Kilkenny was celebrated.

Manufactories of superior cloths existed in the cities and towns; for although the production of first-class broadcloth for exportation was checked by the prohibitory statutes, it received encouragement in another direction. "When the Irish found themselves prohibited by English laws from the exportation of all woollen manufactures, they thought the grievance insupportable, and to alleviate it applied all their wit and industry to two purposes: first, to export as much manufactured wool to France as possible; and, secondly, to make fine cloths for their own consumption. These were deep wounds to the English woollen trade: the one giving our inveterate enemies a rivalry in that business, and the other taking from

* Ireland, Statistical and Political," vol. i. (1812).

the English a great part of the Irish trade for fine cloths which they enjoyed before.”*

Thus stimulated to exertion, the Irish clothiers succeeded in making a serviceable and sufficiently fine quality of cloth for the use of the easier classes. The Spanish wool required for mixing with the Irish was procured, strangely enough, through London; as indeed was also, at least at one time, the supply of that staple which the French manufacturers had need of. Swift evidently thought that in his day Irish gentlemen had no reason to consider themselves unsuitably garbed in native manufacture; and he did his best, as we know, to bring the fashion of English broadcloth into discredit. Fashion, however, reasserted its mischievous influence as time went on; and Dr. Campbell had reason to complain of the coxcombs of his day for their ignorant contempt of home-spun garments, and their affectation in pretending that woollens of the country were not good enough for their own wear. The Irish, he says, are “very culpable in this affair, but the fault falls not upon the manufacturer, but upon the consumer. The woollen manufacture, in despite of all efforts to annihilate it, has flourished in the city of Dublin, while it has languished everywhere else. But, as if the natives wished to conspire with other agents in banishing it hence also, they scorn to wear a home-spun coat. Even an attorney’s clerk must be dressed in English cloth, and such is the contempt of Irish woollens in Ireland, that it is common with the drapers to sell for English those which are really Irish.”†

Thus, the growing, preparing, and smuggling of wool filled up a considerable space in the life of the Irish people during the best part of the eighteenth century; and the manufacture of cloths and stuffs, principally for home consumption, gave employment to a multitude of hands. And yet the woollen manufacture, though respectable, was immeasurably below the standard it would have reached if a free export had been allowed. “Home consumption,” says the writer just quoted, “is not sufficient stimulus. The genius of trade sickens at the very thoughts of restriction, and it dies upon actual restraint.” As for the clandestine trade, though a great number derived advantage from it, its drawbacks were neither few

* Harris: “Life of William III.”

† “A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland” (1777).

nor trifling, and its benefits were in some respects illusory. Precarious, hazardous, demoralising, it was as a system the very opposite of steady, open, legitimate trading. There was all the difference in the world between the constitution of a great commercial community and the enlistment of a host of trading adventurers. Sir James Caldwell, an excellent authority, points out at some length the evils that wool smuggling brought on the country, and says in conclusion:—"It deprives the poor of employment, discourages industry, promotes idleness and debauchery, disposes the common people to insult government, sows the seeds of rebellion, and quenches humanity, by making violence, and in some cases murder, necessary to self-defence."*

Although France was ready to pay a high price, and at times any price for Irish wool, the mode in which the payments were made increased the general disruption of sobriety and order. As already observed, the French Government objected to so great an amount of specie leaving the kingdom as had been transmitted to Ireland during the first years of the contraband traffic. Cash remittances were therefore discontinued, and an exchange of commodities substituted. Ireland was consequently deluged with wine and brandy, glutted with silks, laces, and such like commodities, and entangled more than ever in an illicit traffic by the necessity of smuggling in French luxuries as well as running out native wool. A superabundance of good wine did not foster habits of temperance, and strangers remarked that the produce of excellent foreign vintages could be got in places where common Irish bread was not to be had. Luxurious and copious drinking on the part of the men was emulated by extravagant dressing on the part of the women. French finery suited ill with poverty-stricken surroundings, and only helped to render more remarkable the general disarray. Curious notions of Irish customs in the matter of drinking and dressing are to be found in the *Querist*. Dr. Berkeley asks, "Whether any kingdom in Europe be so good a customer at Bordeaux as Ireland?" "How many gentlemen are there in England of £1,000 *per annum* who never drink wine in their own houses? Whether the same may be said of any in Ireland, who have even £100

* "An Enquiry concerning the Restrictions laid on the Trade of Ireland" (1766).

per annum?" The lady's lace is a match for the squire's bottle, and the *Querist* wants to know, "Whether it be not a notorious truth that our Irish ladies are on a foot, as to dress, with those of five times their fortune in England? Whether it be not even certain that the matrons of this forlorn country send out a greater portion of its wealth, for fine apparel, than any other females on the whole surface of this terraqueous globe?"*

A considerable quantity of French silk was used, in the early part of the last century, at funerals in Ireland. The scarfs worn by the mourners were made of lustring (commonly pronounced *lutestring*), and it was computed that between £11,000 and £12,000 were annually expended in the purchase of this smuggled article. However, after some time, the Cambric Company of Belfast proposed in the interest of Irish manufacturers that linen should be used instead of silk at funerals. This mode having been adopted at the funeral of "a late great man of the first distinction," a statistician of the day remarked that "it was well judged to bury him in character as a friend to his country and a benefactor to multitudes."† Another authority of the same date remarks that, whereas silk scarfs were of little utility except for the one occasion, linen scarfs might be applied to many other uses. They could be made of all prices, from one shilling to eight shillings a yard, answerable to the quality or fortune of the deceased. Eventually the Ulster manufacture gained the day, and it became the fashion to honour the dead and serve honest trade at the same time by the display of a profusion of white linen at Irish funerals.

I daresay it would be interesting while following the ramifications of illicit trading in Ireland to notice instances of complicity in the traffic on the part of the gentry whose property touched on the sea-board. Those who are curious in the matter will find one notable instance of the association of a contrabandist's pursuits with the avocations of a landed proprietor in the early pages of Miss Cusack's "Life of the Liberator."

Clearly, it was Bishop Berkeley's opinion that the Irish people would have shown more wisdom if they had accommodated themselves to circumstances, relinquished the desire of a free trade in wool and woollens, and quietly directed their commercial enthusiasm into other channels.

* The *Querist* was first published in 1735.

† Dobbs: "An Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland" (1729).

He thought that hankering after a foreign trade, and grieving over its loss, enfeebled the national mind; and he enquires "Whether it would not be more prudent to strike out and exert ourselves in permitted branches of trade than to fold our hands and repine that we are not allowed the woollen?" and "Whether, if there was a wall of brass a thousand cubits high round this kingdom, our natives might not, nevertheless, live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?" But it is also plainly indicated in the *Querist* that the treatment which the wool had received destroyed all feeling of security in other trades, that the people could not get rid of the idea that industries of other kinds, even though they should be "with great pains and expense thoroughly introduced and settled in the land," might be at any moment similarly uprooted; and that, therefore, "they stuck to their wool."

Moreover, nearly every other Irish industry had its grievance as well as the woollen trade. The Ulster linen manufacture received many a stealthy thrust and many an open blow from English jealousy, and was subject to disastrous fluctuations which kept the passenger traffic between the north of Ireland and America busy for scores of years deporting weavers out of work. In 1772, such was the state of affairs in Ulster that, as reported to the Irish House of Commons, the best manufacturers and weavers, with their families, had gone to seek bread in America, and thousands were preparing to follow. The Irish glass manufacture was most injuriously treated. Disabling duties were imposed on the Irish hempen manufacture, which at one time had supplied the whole British navy with sail-cloth. Irish fishermen were not allowed to appear off Newfoundland, and petitions were presented to Parliament by English fishermen, praying that the Irish might be prevented catching herrings on the coast of Waterford and Wexford.

In fact, the only extensive, and, occasionally at least, unfettered trade that Ireland enjoyed in those days was the export of salted provisions, which began immediately after the prohibition of the cattle trade with England. The French took immense quantities, and it was believed that without the Irish supplies they could hardly have victualled their ships. For a number of years the French settlements in the West Indies were provided from the same quarter. According to a contemporary foreign authority, a breast of Irish beef was the greatest regale in

those islands.* Besides beef, the French took butter, tallow, and raw hides in great quantities. Prior, in his "Observations on the Trade of Ireland," gives an idea of the extent of the foreign exports. "It appears," he says, "from the quantity of our commodities exported to France, at a medium yearly for seven years ending 1786, taken from the custom house books, that the French take from us, one year with another, two parts in five of all our tallow, above one-third of all our butter, a fourth part of all our raw hides, and above one-third part of all our beef, which last commodity may otherwise lie a drug upon our hands, since no other foreign nation has occasion for the same, either for their own consumption or for the use of their colonies." Later on, the British navy received supplies of Irish beef; and in times nearer to our own, as, for instance, during the Peninsular War, the British army was, to a great extent, victualled from Ireland.

Vicissitudes, of course, tried this trade as well as others. Although it did not excite national jealousy in any marked degree, it was victimised on occasions in the interest of the English contractors. "Of all the restrictions," says Arthur Young, "which England has at different times most impolitically laid upon the trade of Ireland, there is none more obnoxious than the embargoes on their provision trade. The prohibitions of the export of woollens, and various other articles, have this pretence at least in their favour, that they are advantageous to similar manufactures in England; and Ireland has long been trained to the sacrifice of her national advantage as a dependent country; but in respect to embargoes even this shallow pretence is wanting: a whole kingdom is sacrificed and plundered, not to enrich England, but three or four London contractors!"

The operation of this system of embargoes may be inferred from the account given by Mac Pherson of one of these transactions, shortly told as follows. An embargo was laid, in 1776, on the exportation of salted provisions from Ireland, in the apprehension of the French furnishing themselves with a stock of Irish provisions for victualling their fleets in the impending war, and was still in force in 1779. The French suffered no inconvenience, nor did the West India islands, for the American market was open to them. But to the Irish it was a grievous and ruinous disappointment. "Their discontent was almost converted

* See the treatises of Dobbs and Sir John Caldwell already quoted.

into indignation by a belief, which prevailed very generally among them, that the measure did not originate from the professed motive, but from a design of giving enormous lucrative contracts to ministerial favourites." So great was the distress following this prohibition that it was feared the country would become depopulated unless the commercial grievances of Ireland were speedily redressed. Multitudes went to America, where their countrymen were fighting in the rebel ranks; and the charity of the higher classes in Dublin was strained to the extremest limit by the necessity of feeding daily 20,000 poor citizens ruined by the new prohibition.*

Passing strange it is that the spirit of enterprise was not wholly crushed by the discouragements and injuries inflicted on the trade of Ireland during so long a period. Necessity stimulated energy; and it must be remembered that in trade lay the one chance for the Catholic body to rise from the degraded position it was held in by the penal code. Lord Chesterfield, albeit disdaining to use the vulgar arts of persecution, was far from desiring to see the Irish papists acquire power of any kind. He had sagacity enough to perceive that a serious pursuit of mercantile avocations would sooner or later enable them to obtain position, wealth, influence. His policy, therefore, would have been to repeal the laws that forbade Catholics to purchase estates, lure them thus from commercial enterprises, and then rely on the Gavel Act for breaking up, by subdivision, the newly acquired properties. Fortunately Chesterfield's viceregal reign was too short to allow him an opportunity of carrying out his subtle schemes. The temptation to exchange the office of merchant for that of estated gentleman was not just then set as a snare for ambitious Catholics. Traders of that religion worked on in the industrial groove and amassed in many cases respectable fortunes. Their foreign relations afforded them opportunities of educating their children. It was the custom to send out Catholic youths as *soi disant* apprentices, on board of trading vessels; and then, when they had got some education in the colleges of France and Spain, to smuggle them back into Ireland with the brandy and Bordeaux.

IX.

But, to return to our sheep once more. All through

* "Annals of Commerce," vol. iii.

those years the Irish never reconciled themselves to the loss of the legitimate wool trade. In vain they were told that it was unbecoming and ungrateful on their part to refuse this little compensation—the wool monopoly—to England: that great nation which had been at such trouble and expense in quelling the frequent rebellions of the Irish.* In vain they were invited to acquiesce in the inevitable and give up the wool. They could not be made to recognise their obligations, and they would not accept the inevitable. For eighty years they kept on persistently *not acquiescing*, until in the end they paid off old scores in quite another fashion, and made the inevitable fly from before their face.

Several of the authorities we have quoted set the trade question in a fair light from time to time, between 1728 and 1766. They showed that, in order to relieve the English woollen trade, the Irish manufacturers should be allowed to join in competing for the foreign market: they pointed out how such branches as the Turkey business, for instance, might well be carried on in Ireland, while the English weavers were employed in producing finer fabrics; and they ventured to inquire how it was that England still continued to compliment the French with a trade she denied to Ireland. Reiterated observations of this kind produced some effect in the long run. Thinkers and legislators in this island began to understand that something must be done to relieve the country from the intolerable oppression that weighed it down; and a vigorous public opinion grew strong by degrees, and finally demanded a hearing. Ireland, dreaming that the wool might yet be free, was gradually preparing for a struggle; while England still maintained an impassive front, determined not to read aright the American lesson. A contest at close quarters was now inevitable. It was not destined to be a long one. Let us note the points of advance and retreat, observing the order of events, and keeping close to our best authorities.

In 1770, as Mr. Lecky writes, the Viceroy, Lord Townshend, suggested the necessity of relaxing the commercial

* "The monopoly of wool and woollen yarn has been the greatest occasion of complaint in Ireland, of hardship laid upon it by England's engrossing so valuable a branch of trade to itself. This the English claim to be due to them upon account of the charges from time to time they have been at in reducing the natives of Ireland, as also in restoring the British interest when routed or disturbed by the frequent rebellions of the Irish."—*Dobbs*.

restrictions under which Ireland laboured; and suggested that a coarse kind of woollen cloth, which was made in Ireland, but not in Great Britain, might be sent without danger to the Spanish and Portuguese markets. His efforts, however, were completely futile. In 1776, a few slight commercial concessions were granted by England. Newfoundland and other fisheries from which Irish fishermen had been excluded, were thrown open to them; and the Irish were permitted to furnish the clothing of their own troops when they were stationed out of Ireland.* In 1778, the Prime Minister, Lord North, proposed to relieve the commercial restraints of Ireland by allowing a free and general exportation of all kinds of goods, except the woollen manufacture, "that article being reckoned too sacred to be yet meddled with." But so great was the commotion excited in the manufacturing towns of England that Lord North had to reconsider his proposal.

"A general alarm," says MacPherson, "spread through most of the trading and manufacturing parts of the kingdom." They considered the "admittance of Ireland to any participation in trade as not only destructive, in the most ruinous degree, of their property, but as being equally subversive of their rights. They were as little disposed to consent, that the people of Ireland should cultivate their own manufactures, and dispose of their native commodities at the proper foreign markets, as they were to admit them to any limited degree of commercial participation. In short, the alarm was universal, and took such absolute possession of the public attention, that, for a short time, the American war, and all its brooding events, appear to have been forgotten." The table of the House of Commons, as we read in Plowden's "Historical Review," was covered with "petitions against any extension of commercial advantages to Ireland, by which the trade of England should be in any way affected. Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow threatened to be no longer loyal if these bills should pass." The popular passion triumphed for the moment. The British Parliament yielded to the pressure from without, and only some slight modifications of the commercial code were effected.

Ireland was now fast assuming a formidable attitude. Her Parliament was determined to assert its rights; and the Volunteers were demanding free trade with arms in their hands.

* "The History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. iv.

In February, 1779, "The Sheriffs of Dublin represented to the Lord Lieutenant that 19,000 persons connected with the weaving trade in that city, besides many other poor, were on the brink of starvation, and that nothing but an extension of trade and a free export of manufactures could save them." Two months later a meeting was held in Dublin, at which all present pledged themselves "not directly or indirectly to purchase any of the goods or manufactures of Great Britain that could be manufactured at home. . . . Agreements to use only domestic manufactures, and to abstain from purchasing English goods till the commercial restrictions were removed, were now entered into by the grand juries of many counties, and by numerous county meetings, and were signed in most of the great towns." The Viceroy, Lord Buckinghamshire, having requested the leading Irishmen of the day to make him acquainted with their opinions concerning the state of the country, Lord Lifford, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Flood, Hussey Burgh, Foster, and Hely Hutchinson, stated their views in pamphlets and treatises—all agreeing that, unless the commercial restrictions were speedily removed, Ireland could no longer pay her way.*

Hely Hutchinson's "Commercial Restrictions" was by far the most remarkable contribution presented to the Government on this occasion. It was a piece of sound and creditable work. Having done excellent service to Ireland in its day, it still possesses a vivid interest and high value for the student of history. Already the work has been several times quoted or referred to in this paper, and it would naturally call for special notice at this part of our story, only that its rare pages have been just reprinted and reissued under singularly able editorship. Henceforth it will be no longer out of the reach of general readers.†

Whether the eyes of Europe were on the Emerald Isle at this juncture or whether they were not, certain it is that America was not heedless of what was going on in the old land, and equally certain that the consciousness of American sympathy inspired the patriots to a high pitch of courage

* "The History of England in the Eighteenth Century," vol. iv.

† The full title of the re-issue reads thus: "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland, considered in a series of letters to a noble Lord, containing an historical account of the affairs of that Kingdom. Dublin, 1779. By John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, &c. Re-edited with a sketch of the Author's Life, Introduction, Notes, and Index, by W. G. Carroll, M.A., SS. Bride's and Michael le Pole's. Dublin, M. H. Gill & Son (1882).

and resolution. Benjamin Franklin watched the progress of events with deep interest. He had visited Ireland and formed friendships with her sons, and he was well informed of her wants and her wrongs. Writing to Sir Edward Newenham in this very year (1779) he says: "I admire the spirit with which I see the Irish are at length determined to claim some share of that freedom of commerce, which is the right of all mankind, but which they have been so long deprived of by the abominable selfishness of their fellow-subjects. To enjoy all the advantages of the climate, soil, and situation in which God and nature have placed us, is as clear a right as that of breathing, and can never be justly taken from men but as a punishment for some atrocious crime."*

Meanwhile, the Volunteers seconded their demand for free trade by giving the best practical encouragement to the industries of the nation. They clothed their regiments and troops in Irish manufacture, and the brilliant uniform of the different corps at their reviews and military gatherings throughout the country showed what could be done by native artisans with materials of home growth. They encouraged by their approval and supported by their patronage every undertaking which had for its object the extension of trade. Associations for the use of Irish manufactures sprung up in every part of the country, to the serious alarm of the English clothiers, who left nothing undone to compel or induce the small traders throughout the provinces to take their goods at reduced prices and on long credit. "The Volunteers and the leaders of the movement were equally active on their side. The press, the pulpit, and the ball-room were enlisted in the cause of native industry. The scientific institutions circulated, gratuitously, tracts on the improvement of manufacture, on the modes adopted in the continental manufacturing districts, and on the economy of production. Trade revived; the manufacturers who had thronged the city of Dublin, the ghastly apparitions of decayed industry, found employment provided for them by the patriotism and spirit of the country; the proscribed goods of England remained unsold, or only sold under false colours by knavish and profligate retailers; the country enjoyed some of the fruits of freedom before she obtained freedom itself."† The Volunteer guns were made to express the national senti-

* "Life of Benjamin Franklin" vol. iii. (1833).

† MacNevin: "The History of the Volunteers of 1782."

ment and advocate the cause of Irish wool. Around the necks of the cannons were hung labels with such inscriptions as, *Free Trade or This! Free Trade or speedy Revolution!* Even the drums lent their aid in intensifying patriotic ardour. With more point, perhaps, than poetry, words had been fitted to a stirring march-tune adopted by the regimental bands, and the moment the roll of the drums was heard the popular memory suggested the verses:—

“ Was she not a fool,
When she took off our wool,
To leave us so much of the
Leather, the leather?
It ne’er entered her pate,
That a sheepskin well beat,
Would draw a whole nation
Together, together.”

In the month of October the Irish Parliament met and unanimously resolved to address the throne, and represent to His Majesty that it was not by temporary expedients but by a free trade alone that Ireland could be saved from impending ruin. The Speaker, accompanied by the patriot leaders, carried the addresses of the Lords and Commons to the Castle, the streets being lined with the Dublin Volunteers drawn up in arms, under their commander, the Duke of Leinster, and thronged with a rejoicing multitude. This action was followed by a proposal to withhold the supplies, or to limit the duration of the money bill, until free trade was yielded by England. During the debate on this question, the Prime Sergeant, Hussey Burgh, delivered the famous speech, in which he declaimed that if Parliament were weak enough to grant supplies for two years it would thereby destroy the fair prospects of commercial hope, and lead the British minister to treat all applications for free trade with contempt. “The usurped authority of a foreign parliament,” continued the orator, “has kept up the most wicked laws that a jealous, monopolising, ungrateful spirit could devise to restrain the bounty of Providence, and enslave a nation, whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, and generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland are synonymous, they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes; and though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws have borne her down

to a state of Egyptian bondage. The English have sowed their laws like serpents' teeth, and they have sprung up as armed men."*

During the delivery of this speech, Hussey Burgh, in reply to someone who had observed that Ireland was at peace, thundered forth these words: "Talk not to me of peace. Ireland is not at peace; it is smothered war." Extraordinary excitement was produced both within the House of Parliament and outside its walls by the Prime Sergeant's courageous words.† He ceased to hold his office under the Crown; but the money bill was passed for six months only. By this time the temper of the parent State had undergone some change. Mute alarm had taken the place of outrageous clamour. The British Parliament met in November, and the signal for a new departure was immediately given. "Severe censures were thrown out in both Houses upon the ministry for endangering the loss of Ireland, as they had already accomplished that of America, by delaying to grant what it would be no longer in their power to withhold, whereby they were now reduced to a necessity of yielding, as a matter of right, much more than would have been thankfully received as a favour, if granted with a good grace at a proper time. At last the minister was roused to take up the business in earnest."‡

Let the sequel be told, even at the risk of some repetition of statements, in the words, first, of a distinguished writer and gifted Irishman of our own day; and, secondly, of the greatest man that this country has ever produced.

Mr. Lecky, in the course of his ably condensed history of this momentous year, thus writes: "Lord North, as we have seen, had been already disposed to grant a very liberal measure of commercial relief to Ireland, though he proposed to except the capital article of the wool trade; but he had been intimidated by the clamour of the manufacturers of England. Now, however, the danger was too extreme for further delay. The fear of bankruptcy in Ireland, the non-importation agreements, which were beginning to tell upon English industries, the threatening aspect of an armed body which already counted more than 40,000 men, the determined and unanimous attitude of the Irish Parliament, the predictions of the Lord Lieutenant that all future military grants by Ireland depended upon

* "History of the Volunteers."

† See Webb's "Compendium of Irish Biography." Article, "Hussey Burgh."

‡ "Annals of Commerce," vol. iii.

his course, the danger that England, in the midst of a dangerous and disastrous war should be left absolutely without a friend, all weighed upon his mind; and at the close of 1779, and in the beginning of 1780, a series of measures were carried in England which exceeded the utmost that a few years before the most sanguine Irishman would have either expected or demanded. The Acts which prohibited the Irish from exporting their woollen manufactures and their glass were wholly repealed, and the great trade of the colonies was freely thrown open to them.”*

Edmund Burke, speaking as a member of the British Parliament, conjures up a vision of the Irish people resolute and armed demanding a free trade, and thus describes the result: “They (the Irish) interdict all commerce between the two nations. They deny all new supply in the House of Commons, although in time of war. They stint the trust of the old revenue, given for two years to all the king’s predecessors, to six months. The British Parliament, in a former session, frightened into a limited concession by the menaces of Ireland, frightened out of it by the menaces of England, was now frightened back again, and made an universal surrender of all that had been thought the peculiar, reserved, uncommunicable rights of England;—the exclusive commerce of America, of Africa, of the West Indies—all the enumerations of the acts of navigation—all the manufactures—iron, glass, even the last pledge of jealousy and pride, the interest hid in the secret of our hearts, the inveterate prejudice moulded into the constitution of our frame, even the sacred fleece itself, all went together. No reserve; no exception; no discussion. A sudden light broke in upon us all. It broke in, not through well-contrived and well-disposed windows, but through flaws and breaches; through the yawning chasm of our ruin. We were taught wisdom by humiliation. No town in England presumed to have a prejudice, or dared to mutter a petition.”†

Good grace, it is pleasant to record. characterised the last act of the drama. English traders, albeit sadly, maintained a becoming silence. Lords and Commons for once displayed unanimity in yielding to a just demand. The king exhibited a royal graciousness in assenting to the measure which repealed the prohibitory statutes of

* “The History of England in the 18th Century,” vol. iv.

† “Speech at Bristol, previous to the Election” (1760).

William III. Lord Hillsborough, in a letter dated the 23rd December, 1779, thus communicates the tidings of the royal assent to William Sexton Pery, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Ireland:

"The King is this moment returned from giving his Royal Assent to the Irish Woollen Bill, and I take the liberty to enclose to you a printed copy of it thus early, that you may not unnecessarily lose a moment of that pleasure which I am sure it will give you. I most sincerely congratulate with you upon this happy event for Ireland, as I flatter myself I shall very soon after the recess have the pleasure of doing upon the Export and Import Act to and from the colonies, &c. It is a very agreeable circumstance in the passing this Bill that there was not the least opposition in either House of Parliament, and that His Majesty, to whom a Commission was proposed, was pleased to say he would go to the House in person, upon an occasion of so much importance to his faithful kingdom of Ireland."*

Signal as was this triumph in the repeal, after eighty years, of the statutes which had ruined the woollen trade of Ireland, the patriots were not so dazzled by success as to forget that the victory had still to be secured. The cause might again be lost unless the power of England to make laws for Ireland were surrendered. Therefore, they pushed on to the attack of the inner stronghold. In 1782, after a tyranny of nearly three hundred years, Poynings' Act was annulled, and the commercial freedom of Ireland established on a sound foundation.

It has been said that the freedom of trade, thus fought for and obtained, did little more than put an end to smuggling. Certain it is, however, that a great impetus was given to the woollen industries in Ireland by the inspiring effect of the Volunteer Movement, and by the substantial encouragement bestowed by the Irish Parliament on the premier trade. The manufacturers met the demand for home production by increased energy and improved skill, and many thousands of hands were kept at work all over the country. Less wool was exported than formerly, but a larger quantity of manufactured goods was sent out. Despite of vicissitudes, occasioned by war and other causes, the woollen trade prospered during the twenty years that followed its liberation.

Then came the Union. It cannot be maintained that

* Eighth Report of the Historical Manuscript Commission.

the act of Union inflicted any injury on the Irish woollen trade. On the contrary, it removed disabilities which the repeal of 1779 had left in *statu quo*, and placed Ireland on an equal footing with England in regard to the staple manufacture. But what ensued? There ensued, first a gradual, and then an accelerated decline in manufacturing industry throughout the country. The woollen trade, always spoken of in the eighteenth century as destroyed, was actually at that period in a flourishing condition when compared with the state it was reduced to in the nineteenth.

At the date of the Union there were, it is calculated, between 5,000 and 6,000 persons employed in Dublin and its vicinity, in the various branches of the woollen manufactory. In 1868 the number so employed in all Ireland amounted only to 1,374 according to a return in Thom's Official Directory. To the ruins of castles, abbeys, and lordly mansions that strewed the land, were added, in this our century, the ruins of mills. In almost every direction mouldering monuments and sad traditions survive to testify to the existence, up to a period not long gone by, of a trade that, with all its limitations, deserved to be called national. Completer ruin could hardly be imagined.

Here no attempt shall be made to inquire into the causes of this calamity. It would be a tedious task, and certain to lead to the most disheartening reflections. Fortunately at this moment there are hopeful signs of a revival, on an extensive scale, of woollen industries in Ireland. The Exhibition of manufactures which has recently been opened in Dublin, affords gratifying proofs of renewed activity in different parts of the country; helps to make more generally known the fact that even during the worst days some relics of a manufacture so ancient, so national, and so rich in interest were preserved; and, furthermore, shows that in one branch of high class woollens Ireland has, in our own day, bid for and obtained a world-wide reputation for excellence.

The manufacturers who, at this juncture, endeavour to restore the lost trade, undoubtedly merit the most liberal encouragement; while those who represent establishments dating their foundation from pre-Union days, assuredly deserve not only this but the thanks of the nation.

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